

Saml. H. Smith, Esq.

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AND
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VOL. IX.]

MAY, 1833.

[No. 3.]

MR. TAPPAN'S LETTER—ARDENT SPIRITS IN THE COLONY.

We copy from the *Liberator* of April 6, the subjoined letter:—

LETTER FROM ARTHUR TAPPAN, ESQ.

[For the *Liberator*.]

Theological Seminary, Andover, March 29, 1833.

MR. GARRISON—In the correspondence of the Anti-Slavery Society, in this Seminary, the following communication has been received from a distinguished philanthropist, which, it is presumed, will be read with interest by the christian community:—

New York, March 26, 1833.

Mr. Lewis F. Laine, Secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, in the Theological Seminary, at Andover.

DEAR SIR—Your communication of the 8th instant, has remained till now unanswered, in consequence of a press of other cares. You ask my opinion of the Colonization Society, and suggest the inquiry, 'Whether with its present principles and character, it is worthy of the patronage of the christian public.' My engagements do not admit of my giving an elaborate answer to this inquiry, or explaining at length my views of the Colonization project.

When this Society was organized, I was one of its warmest friends, and anticipated great good from its influence, both in christianizing Africa and abolishing slavery in our country.—At one time, I had a plan for establishing a line of Packets, between this City and the Colony, and for opening a trade with the interior of Africa. I also offered to pay \$1,000 to the Society, if the 100 individuals, proposed in the plan of Gerrit Smith, could be found within one year. I mention these things to show how heartily I entered into the scheme.

The first thing that shook my confidence in the Society, was the fact, that ardent spirits were allowed to be sold at the Colony, and, as the Agents wrote me from Liberia, in giving the assortment suitable to make up an invoice, were considered 'indispensable.' I used the little influence I had, with the Society, to obtain a prohibition to the admission of ardent spirits into the Colony, with what success may be seen in the * fact, that no less than FOURTEEN HUNDRED BARRELS of the liquid poison, have been sold there within a year. With my feelings somewhat cooled by the knowledge that ardent spirits, tobacco, powder and balls, were leading articles of trade at the colony, I read with some care the arguments of that distinguished and fearless philanthropist, W. L. Garrison, in the *Liberator*, and was soon led to ask myself whether this 'splendid scheme of benevolence' was not a device of Satan, to rivet still closer the fetters of the slaves, and to deepen the prejudice against the free colored people. I now believe it is, and that it had its origin in the *single motive*, to get rid of the free colored people, that the slaves may be held in greater safety. Good men have been drawn into it, under the delusive idea, that it would break the chains of slavery and evangelize Africa; but the day is not far distant, I believe, when the Society will be regarded in its true charac-

* This statement, I am assured, is made on unquestionable authority, and it is not contradicted by the Colonization Society.

ter, and deserted by every one who wishes to see a speedy end put to slavery, in this land of boasted freedom.

You are at liberty, to make what use you please, of this expression of my sentiments. I rejoice to witness the effort that is every where making, to 'let the captive go free,' and that the number is daily increasing, of those who are resolved not to cease their efforts in every lawful way, to secure to our colored fellow citizens, equal rights with others. That your Society may be eminently instrumental in dissipating prejudice, and pouring light upon the intellect of the millions of our countrymen who are held in bondage, is the earnest prayer of your fellow laborer,

ARTHUR TAPPAN.

REMARKS.

While the past zeal and ability of Mr. T. in the cause of Colonization are gratefully admitted, it is matter of regret to its friends that he should have undergone so radical a change of opinion; and it must surprise every one that in a gentleman of his intelligence, this change should have been effected by causes so inadequate as those which he assigns for it. Because as Mr. T. alleges, ardent spirits, tobacco, &c. enter into the commerce of the Colony, the Society, he argues, is "a device of Satan, &c.," and had its origin in the "single motive" of perpetuating slavery. Surely never was an inference more violently drawn from premises, or less analogy perceivable between effects and their imagined causes. Let the deleterious consequences of ardent spirits, &c. be conceded in their full extent; let it be conceded that they find their way to Liberia even in greater quantities than Mr. T. supposes; and yet the rules of just reasoning no less than those of charitable construction, forbid so startling an imputation as that cast by him on the "motives" of his former associates.

Had Mr. T. reflected longer before he denounced so bitterly, he might perhaps have seen, that even were the obnoxious articles introduced into the Colony through the policy of the Society, that policy might be erroneous without necessarily springing from a criminal design in the whole scheme; and might have resulted from circumstances which the future permanent interests of the Colony required to be duly estimated, before the Board could properly resort to the final and strong measure of prohibition.

But it is utterly denied that the Society ever have introduced ardent spirits into the Colony, or approved of the articles being introduced there, for the use of the colonists, except in quantities sufficient for medical purposes. The port of Monrovia is resorted to by vessels from all quarters, freighted with such articles as the shippers deem best suited for commercial enterprise, and among those which have been found useful in trade with the natives, are ardent spirits. It is competent, undoubtedly, for the Board to strangle the *direct* trade in this pernicious article by very heavy duties, or by absolute prohibition. One or the other of these measures would undoubtedly have been adopted, had the Board been satisfied that it would remedy the evil. But well founded apprehensions existed, on the one hand, that the most severe restrictions would prove inadequate to countervail the smugglers; and, on the other, that the natives finding that they could no longer obtain ardent spirits from vessels trading with the Colony, would resort for it to the slavers. The cessation of trade between the natives and the Colony in any article of accustomed traffic, would naturally extend to other articles, however salutary and profitable; and would thus seriously impair, if not totally subvert, the commercial prosperity of the Colony. The consequences of an increased intercourse, from any cause, between the natives and the slavers, would be still more alarming. It is thought sufficient to glance at one only—the exchange of *human beings* for *ardent spirits*. The Board might well pause before they ventured on a measure that might possibly stimulate anew that most detestable of all traffics—the slave trade. They might perhaps, have supposed that some might not feel as strongly as themselves, the force of this apprehension; but they could never have foreseen, that for entertaining it, they would sub-

ject themselves and their constituents to the charge of being influenced by the "single motive" of perpetuating slavery.

Under the influence of the considerations just stated, the Board have deemed it best to rely on moral influences for preventing the introduction of ardent spirits into Liberia; and not to try the experiment of prohibition, till the commercial prosperity of the Colony should be fixed on a stable basis. In illustration of the solicitude of the Board on the subject, we subjoin two resolutions passed in 1830. The Address, directed by the second, was in conformity with it, prepared by the Secretary, and circulated among the Colonists. The resolutions are as follows, viz:

Adopted 28th June, 1830.

"Resolved, That the friends of the Society throughout the country, be informed that this Board will discourage the introduction and use of distilled spirits in the Colony, and among the native tribes; and that the subject is now under consideration of the Board."

Adopted 8th Nov. 1830.

"Resolved, That the Secretary be requested to prepare an address to the Colonists, to be sent out by the vessel, now about to be despatched; in which, among other things to be recommended to their observance for their welfare, he shall encourage them to form Temperance Societies, and adopt such other measures as may tend to diminish both the use and the sale of ardent spirits in the Colony; and also, that in their commerce with the natives, they discontinue dealing in such articles; also, that the Secretary communicate to the Colonial Agent, the wishes of the Board upon this subject."

In regard to the "statement" about the 1400 barrels, which Mr. T. is "assured is made on unquestionable authority," it may be wished that he had furnished us with the means of ascertaining how far his confidence in this authority is deserved. The statement seems to have been made to Mr. T. by some person who got it from some other person; but who assured Mr. T. that the authority of this other person was unquestionable. Whether any error has crept into this statement during its circuitous route, or whether it is indeed "unquestionable," we shall be better able to decide, when the facts are presented in some specific and tangible form. It would indeed be easy for us to deny roundly the "authority" of the informer of Mr. T's. informer; but as this would be only opposing assertion to assertion, we prefer waiting till the facts are ascertained. We are more than ever opposed to precipitancy of judgment on any subject, when we see into what injustice it can betray so respectable a man as Mr. T.

We could wish that Mr. T. had been more precise in stating *whose* were "the Agents" in Liberia, who informed him, that "in giving the assortment suitable to make up an invoice"—ardent spirits "were considered indispensable." Mr. T. certainly did not mean to be understood, as having received this information from "the Agents" of the *Colonization Society*; and yet such an inference is permitted, if not suggested, by the context of the sentence.

The considerations which have been stated, as deterring the Board from prohibiting ardent spirits, have, nevertheless, been yielded to with reluctance. If Mr. T's. "influence" (which instead of being "little," as he modestly calls it, was deservedly considerable) was insufficient to induce the Board to disregard them, it has at least had the effect of deeply engaging their thoughts on the plan which he recommends. We shall presently subjoin two very recent resolutions, from the last of which, it will appear that the total prohibition of ardent spirits, will be a prominent subject of deliberation with the Board at their next meeting.

It has not seemed necessary in these remarks, to notice particularly the articles of "tobacco and powder and ball," because, though in one part of Mr. T's. letter they are included with ardent spirits, in the same censure, the stress of it is generally laid on ardent spirits. He probably considers tobacco as not being so closely connected with the "SINGLE MOTIVE;" and as to "powder and ball," he would hardly advise their total exclusion from the Colony, when he reflects that it is indebted, under Providence, for its present existence, to these very articles.

The resolutions last adverted to, are as follows:

Adopted *April 30th*, 1833.

"*Resolved*, That the Board hear with extreme regret, of the continued introduction and use of ardent spirits in the Colony; that they are resolved to exercise all their influence to discourage and diminish the evil; and that no ardent spirits, except such as may be needful for medical purposes, shall be introduced by the Board or its Agents."

Adopted *May 7th*, 1833.

"*Resolved*, That it be recommended to the Board of Managers, to take into consideration, at their next meeting, the expediency of prohibiting altogether, the introduction of ardent spirits into the Colony, as an article of trade with the natives, or of commerce with the Colonists."

Mr. T. may feel assured that the Board of Managers are as sensible as he can be, to the pernicious consequences of ardent spirits, and especially to the evils with which they threaten the Colony; and that if, after full consideration of the means for averting these evils, the Board should be satisfied that prohibition is on the whole, the most eligible measure, they will undoubtedly adopt it. A dispassionate review, on his part, of the circumstances which have hitherto recommended a less strenuous course, may be expected to satisfy Mr. T. that he has done injustice to the motives at least of the Society. One advantage to the cause of Colonization is perceived in the publication of his letter—and that is a distinct assignment of his motive for deserting the Society, and lending his influence to its adversaries. His "SINGLE MOTIVE" for the defection, appears to be a prejudice that the Society deliberately promotes the demoralization of the Colonists, by means of ardent spirits; a prejudice which we have too high an opinion of his understanding, to suppose can long withhold it from coming to juster conclusions. And as the preceding brief exposition of the views of the Board in regard to ardent spirits at the Colony, shows that his "single motive" for abandoning our cause, was founded in error, we hope soon to hail him again as a fellow labourer, in what he very justly, though it may be, ironically, styles "a splendid scheme of benevolence." As his separation from his former associates in this work, has left no unpleasant impression on their minds, except that of regret at having lost, for a season at least, his valuable aid: so his reconversion would be to them, the source of unmingled pleasure, and they would receive him with a sensibility to the importance of his services which his temporary alienation from them has served but to increase.

Any thing coming from Mr. T's. pen, must of course fix public attention, especially when accompanied with an intimation from himself, as in the case of his letter in the *Liberator*, that he intended such a result. If therefore, he should be of opinion that his charge against the Society was precipitate and unmerited, his candor will suggest to him the propriety of giving equal publicity to his retraction.

JUDGE TEST'S ADDRESS.

During the last summer, we received a copy of an Address, on the subject of Colonization, which had been recently delivered at Lawrenceburgh, Indiana, by the Hon. JOHN TEST, formerly a Representative in Congress from that State. Want of room has hitherto prevented the insertion of that speech in the *Repository*. In the present number, we publish some portions of it, for which we are certain that their own merit and the reputation of the speaker, will procure general perusal.

The institution which is the subject of our present address, presents a phenomenon in civil government heretofore unknown in the history of the world. Greece, Rome, or in more modern times, the East India Company, present no parallel to the present. In the two former, we behold nations in embryo, who by pursuing their way on a plain of perpetual elevation, arrived at the highest point of human glory, and became the conquerors and tyrants of the world; but they were their own arbiters, they gave direction

to their own destinies. In the latter, we see, it is true, a few individuals, connected by ties of common interest, retained and driven forward by motives of avarice, ocean siroccos, blasting and withering the free commerce of the world, scattering death and desolation among weak and unoffending communities, but then they were clothed with the panoply of the British Lion. But in this institution we are presented with the sublime spectacle of a nation bursting into being, not by its own energies, not by the force of its own physical and moral powers, but by an impetus and direction given to it by a few individuals, unknown to the world except by the brilliancy of their own personal characters, clothed with no authority but that homage which mankind pay to virtue, connected by no other tie than universal benevolence toward their fellow man, and organized upon principles of equal justice to themselves and to all the world. These individuals, thus influenced—thus united and connected—thus governed, and thus disposed, are not only giving homes and assylums to the exiled sons of Africa, but they are dispensing light, life, liberty and happiness to poor forlorn and benighted Africa herself. These individuals, by the force of that moral power which gives a sanction to the laws of nations alone, thousands of miles beyond the sphere of their own immediate action, have founded a republic, calculated from the benignity of its principles, and the universality of its moral influence, to embrace the whole of that vast continent. Already has the gospel cherub winged its way to the benighted regions of Africa, and shed its beams upon her dark solitudes. Already have churches and temples of the living God begun to lift their spires toward heaven; towns and cities have begun to spring up, and the busy hum of industry is heard in their streets. Her dark and gloomy waters, where lately prowled naught but the pirate bark, are now whitened with the sail of adventurous commerce. Poor humbled and forsaken Africa, how lately might Fancy have painted thee far in the back ground of all the group which surrounded thee; thy looks fierce and wild, half naked, with thy hands steeped in thy own children's blood—growling thy impious orgies, revelling in the midst of thy slaughtered hecatombs, and glorying in thy shame. Now the scene is changed,—though distant the view, we can still discern thy softened look; thy hands no longer stream with kindred blood; thou seemest to doubt thy senseless gods, and wonder if they be true. To whom art thou indebted for this happy change? Not to Catholic Spain or Catholic Portugal; not to Reformed Holland or Protestant England; nor indeed to regenerated America,—but to a few individuals, citizens of this Republic, inspired with that benevolence and philanthropy which have their source in heaven itself. 'Tis they who are lighting thy path to happier views, and pouring into thy bosom the consolations of a better hope. Fancy loves to dwell on brightening scenes, but it is not our object to indulge the imagination in its wanderings, however pleasing to us. It is important that we come down to sober realities, and take a view, though in miniature, of the origin, the nature, operation and effect of this institution.

Some have attributed the origin of this institution to Mr. Jefferson, some to the Legislature of Virginia, and some to an individual a native of the same State with myself; Mr. Finley of New Jersey. Certain it is that at a very early date, perhaps about the time of the framing of the Constitution of the United States, Mr. Jefferson expressed himself very freely upon the subject of slavery; and no doubt suggested the propriety of the States interfering as far as their limited powers extended, to rid themselves of the evil. It is true Virginia, while a colony, passed twenty-three different acts for the suppression of the slave-trade, which were chiefly all rejected by the British Government. But I cannot find where, either they, or Mr. Jefferson ever suggested the idea of such an institution, as the present Colonization Society. It is very certain that neither Mr. Jefferson nor Mr. Randolph could ever have proposed to Congress to interfere directly in colonizing and removing of the free black popu-

lation to Africa, for it is a matter of fact, that at the time the United States purchased Louisiana of the French Government, Mr. Jefferson thought the Constitution did not give them power to organize a Government in that territory, and proposed such an alteration of the Constitution as would authorize it. Mr. Randolph never has, nor does he now believe the United States have any power to interfere directly in such a project; though it is said he was the first member of Congress who petitioned or requested the aid of the Government for this Society. The credit of originating and commencing this sublime institution, (and indeed it is no little) I believe to belong to Mr. Finley of New Jersey. His mind had been long exercised with deep and awful forebodings of the terrible consequences which were to flow from the continuance of such an evil as slavery in the bosom of his country;—and about the year 1816 he proposed to some of his friends the establishment of the present institution, among whom it seems, the illustrious Henry Clay was one. Mr. Clay, in one of his late public speeches, draws the astonishing contrast, between that moment, and the time, “when himself and about a dozen others, in a small room, about twelve feet square, in the city of Washington, were consulting together and laying its foundation. Few then foresaw that from so small a beginning such vast results were to be realized or such boundless prospects to open; that a mere desultory conversation should result, not only in the foundation and establishment of a vast empire or republic, but hold out the prospect of regenerating, civilizing, christianizing and elevating to happiness, from the lowest condition of human wretchedness, a whole continent.” In consequence of the measures adopted by those few individuals, a mission was sent to the western coast of Africa, by the way of England, to seek a proper place for the establishment of the intended Colony of free blacks. Such was the origin of the institution, which is the subject of this address. The number of illustrious characters, among slave-holders, and non-slave-holders, who lent their aid to its establishment, and the principles upon which it professed to act, gave to it a consequence which soon attracted public attention.

In speaking of the nature of this institution, I must be permitted to notice the various topics which seem essentially connected with it, in order to develop its principles, its powers and efficiency in consummating those sublime objects it appears to have in view. I shall not find it necessary to draw aside the veil of antiquity, in order to exhibit idolatry paying her homage to stocks and stones, sacrificing her votaries upon her bloodstained altars,—or to point out the era when superstition and bigotry, substituting their own physical power for the soft and persuasive language of universal benevolence, hunted down their victims and enslaved them in the name of God. Suffice it to say, that the evil existed among us long before we became an independent people, and still does exist. This Society, however, disavows any interference with *slaves*, or with the black population in their character as such, or in so far as they may be considered the property of individuals.

The immediate object of this institution is better expressed in their own language, than by any circumlocution I could use. It is “to be exclusively directed to promote and execute a plan for colonizing (with their consent) the free people of colour residing in our country, in Africa, or such other place as Congress shall deem most expedient. And the Society shall act, to effect this object, in co-operation with the General Government, and such of the States as may adopt regulations upon the subject.” Hence it appears from the very nature and Constitution of the Society, that it is not at all empowered to interfere with that class of the black population, denominated slaves, so long as they remain in that condition. Besides, it is destitute of political or corporate authority. It has no sanction to its decrees but its own responsibility to the public, and the unsullied reputation of the philanthropic individuals who compose it. It has no pecuniary support but such as it derives from private generosity and benevolence; nor does it hold out a hope of

future emolument, from any possible course it might be enabled to pursue. The only business of the institution is, to aid in colonizing (with their consent) such of that unhappy race, as may have acquired their liberty, and such as their owners or masters may think proper to manumit on condition of their removal to the Colony which may be provided for them. Such is the character of the Society, and such its objects.

The next question is, is it calculated in its nature, to fulfil the high expectations entertained by itself or its friends? And notwithstanding all the opposition it has met with from prejudice, yet the members composing it feel no doubt upon that point. They never hoped or expected to effect the colonization of the whole of the free black population, by their own unaided exertions. Such an expectation never ought to have been entertained. But it is demonstrable, that it will be a powerful auxiliary, in co-operation with the General Government and the individual States, as expressed in its Constitution, in connexion with other causes, in fully accomplishing that great object; and that the General Government and the several States, and particularly those which tolerate slavery, are deeply interested in fostering and cherishing the institution, is equally demonstrable. I will endeavour briefly, to call to your recollection, some of the facts and circumstances which go to prove that position.

I am not disposed to cast a censure upon those States which recognize the right to hold a property in their fellow beings, nor those individuals who under their sanction exercise the power; for I am aware that it is an evil entailed upon them by their ancestors, and that they ought not to be held responsible for continuing it, when by its sudden abandonment they hazard a much greater; those maintain it from necessity, and very few, I believe, are hardy enough at this day to defend it upon principle.

As I before remarked, it is not expected to remove so great an evil as two millions of slaves suddenly: if it can be accomplished in a century, it will be as much as the most sanguine of our friends ought to expect. It will be recollected that the causes of the evil were suffered to operate without control for more than thirty years after the declaration of Independence. It is something remarkable, that notwithstanding Virginia had passed so many acts during her colonial existence for the suppression of the slave-trade, and her great preponderance in the councils of the country at the period of the establishment of the Constitution, yet an article found its way into that instrument, prohibiting the General Government from interfering with, or preventing the several States from importing slaves until the year 1808. During that interval, the slaves increased with great rapidity. Congress, however, took the earliest opportunity to exercise the power inferred by that article in the Constitution, in order to check the growing evil, and in 1807 passed an act, to take effect in 1808, prohibiting the importation of that unfortunate class of population. This act, itself, proved but an insufficient bar to the inhuman traffic, for it put them at the disposal of the State into which the slaves were brought; and the State of Georgia set the example of selling them as slaves at auction, to the highest bidder, and depositing the money in her own state treasury: and it is to be hoped, as the money still remains in her treasury, she will appropriate it toward sending some of her own free blacks to Liberia, or put it under the control of this Society for that purpose.

It will be necessary here, to examine a little into the state of slavery, as it exists in the world at large, and in the United States, as likewise the causes which contribute to its continuance, and the means of its immediate prevention, and its future annihilation. There are very few nations that have not admitted or allowed slavery in some form or other. So far as history reaches back we hear of slaves. The ancients justified it upon the ground, that if in war they spared their captive's life, they were entitled to his services. Mahomet justified it on the ground, that they were doing a service to

God and to them, by converting them from infidelity to the true faith. The Pope of Rome was perhaps governed by the same motives when he gave authority to the adventurers to the new world to take possession of such foreign lands as they might discover and enslave the Heathens. This order was the first I believe which ever emanated from a christian sovereign, authorizing or even countenancing the unhallowed traffic. And in virtue of that authority, a Portuguese Captain infamously distinguished himself as the first christian trader in human flesh and blood.

The inhuman commerce commenced with us about the time of the discovery of the continent on which we live, and has continued, either legitimately or illegitimately, to a certain extent ever since. Our own Constitution notwithstanding the great purity of its character in other respects, as a great national charter, (as heretofore suggested,) authorized the importation of slaves until 1808. But since that time, and particularly after the revolution in St. Domingo, the world seems to have been roused to a sense of the calamitous consequences of slavery. It has since agitated the whole christian world, and occupied the attention of every christian government. In 1820, our own Government declared it piracy. In that same year, I think it was, a resolution passed the House of Representatives of the U. States almost unanimously, requiring the President to enter into negotiations with the nations at peace and in amity with the United States, in order to the total suppression of the slave-trade, by declaring it piracy. Mr. Monroe, who was then President, entered into these negotiations, and actually concluded a convention with Great Britain, and the project seemed to meet the favourable consideration of other nations. About the same time, the proposition was agitated in the Congress of sovereigns at Verona; but the convention entered into with the British, by Mr. Monroe, when it was afterwards brought before the Senate for their approval, was rejected in consequence of some obnoxious provisions contained in it, in relation to the right of search. However, Great Britain, and I believe chiefly all the christian powers of Europe and America, except perhaps Portugal and Brazil, have since declared the odious traffic—piracy. Mexico, under the presidency of Guerrero, by a single dash of the pen, liberated all the slaves within her dominions, and left their owners to seek remuneration for them when the Government should thereafter be in funds to indemnify them. Colombia, if I mistake not, and the other Republics of South America have likewise denounced the traffic as piracy. But notwithstanding all that has been done, the trade is still carried on extensively, and will be, until every nation shall declare it piracy, and agree upon some just and satisfactory mode of discovering offenders; for there is turpitude and avarice enough in the world to continue the abominable commerce so long as there shall be found a single flag on the ocean to protect it.

Such have been the rise, the progress, of this tremendous evil, and such the means by which it has been introduced into our own country. That it is a national evil and a most hideous one, I believe very few have ventured to deny. As a proof, however, of the fact, if any be wanted, we need only point to those states in which it prevails, and show their desolated fields and dilapidated dwellings; poverty and distress spread around on every hand—industry, plenty, and prosperity falling before it, like human life before the withering blast of contagion. While their sister states, which are exempt from the curse, are increasing in wealth, strength, security and happiness, they cannot but see themselves waning and sinking in that political horizon, where they once shone as stars of the first magnitude. I am sure no one acquainted with me, will believe for a moment, that I take any pleasure in drawing these unhappy distinctions between the free and slave states; for no one knows better than I do, the nobleness, generosity and hospitality that universally mark the character of their population, and few have witnessed more of their courtesy and kindness, than myself. But my duty to the pub-

lie, to the Society I here represent—nay, the duty I owe to our southern friends themselves, requires that I should speak the truth. Forty years ago, the foot of a white inhabitant had scarcely trod the vast territory north-west of the Ohio River; now it contains a population of near two millions, and the greater portion of them, emigrated from slave states. Twenty years ago, the States of Ohio and Indiana contained together, about two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants; they now contain nearly thirteen hundred thousand. The deleterious effects of slavery, may be seen by a comparison of the increase of the population of the different states, in given times—for example, the State of Pennsylvania in 1790, had of free whites, four hundred and twenty-three thousand; (I take thousands only) in 1830, she had one million three hundred and thirty thousand, making an increase of nine hundred thousand in forty years. Virginia (with a larger amount of wild lands to settle,) had, in 1790, four hundred and forty-two thousand free whites, and in 1830, five hundred and sixty thousand, making an increase in the same time of one hundred and eighteen thousand only; and these results are very plainly deducible from the operation of causes the most natural. In the slave states, where the principal part of the business is done by slaves, labour is not reputable; in the free states, every man, rich and poor, does his own portion of the labour; labour is therefore in those states, not disreputable; and hence the poorer, and more industrious class of citizens abandon the slave states, and remove to those where labour is reputable.

While, however, we are on this branch of the subject, permit me to suggest one or two other consequences resulting from slavery, which are truly appalling. It is ascertained beyond doubt, that the slaves increase much more rapidly in the slave states, than do the whites. In the State of South Carolina and perhaps some other of the southern states, between the years 1810 and 1820, while the whites have increased at the rate of 9 per cent. in ten years, the negroes have increased at the rate of 28 per cent. in the same time. It will be found too, that notwithstanding the importation of slavery into the United States has been prohibited for twenty-three years, while there has been an excess of emigration during the same time by the whites, yet the negro population has kept pace with the white, and indeed has increased upon it. It seems to me it could hardly have entered into the minds of our southern friends, that if the black population continues to increase for the space of sixty years, as it has done for the last forty, about eight states in this union will contain nearly twelve millions of slaves. The picture is truly appalling, but it is nevertheless true. I have, perhaps, dwelt too long upon this topic, but I have been led to do so, in consequence of the declaration of Gov. Hamilton, of South Carolina, and some others high in office, that slavery is not a national evil, but a national benefit. Such declarations proceeding from so respectable a source, seemed to demand a prompt and clear refutation, and how far I have succeeded after all, in accomplishing that end, I must leave with you. Great names give great weight to declarations; and if it be really true, that slavery in the United States is not a national evil, why, the Colonization Society are spending their time, their labour and their money, to a purpose idle and insignificant. In order clearly to understand how and to what extent the operations of this Society are calculated to remedy this enormous evil, it will be necessary to look a little into the principles of slavery, the manner and extent of the slave-trade as it now exists in the world, together with its effects upon mankind.

Slavery has existed in some form or other, in every community, I believe, of which history has left a record, or even tradition a trace. I should be thought to hazard much, perhaps too much, if I were to say, it was a badge of civilization; I will not say so, but I will say, it was one of the first dark spots discovered in the twilight of its horizon, and certain it is, it cannot exist where a total destitution of all social order prevails, for it cannot be sustained

without the power of some social regulation. The Jews themselves, were slaves in Egypt, and they enslaved others in their turn, when they obtained the ascendancy, and even their own countrymen, to a certain extent.—The Egyptians, the Grecians, the Romans, Carthaginians, and I believe every nation since, whether Pagan, Mahomedan, or Christian, has sullied its national character with the commission of the crime. And it is remarkable, that one of the best tenures by which real estate is now held in England, grew out of a system of slavery; thereby exhibiting the moral phenomenon, of good proceeding out of evil, as the slaves themselves became the tenants and owners of the lands they had been doomed to cultivate. There, however, appears to be some difference in the principles of slavery in ancient times, as then understood, and as now recognized. The master had the most absolute control over his vassal; he held over him, even the power of life and death; and there was no other security for the slave, than that which he derived from the influence of public opinion over the conduct of his master, and yet we scarcely hear of as many barbarities committed by their masters in those days, as in more modern times. Several causes may be assigned for this; one is, a slave was seldom of sufficient consequence to be noticed by the historians of that day, whereby we remain ignorant of the facts; and another cause may be, that as they were placed upon the same footing in that respect, with the children of their masters, they were treated with something like the same humanity: for by the laws of Greece and Rome, with all their refinement in morals, the father held in his hands, the absolute control of the life or death of his child. Again, the line between the master and slave, was not so indelibly drawn then as now; they were generally of the same color, form and intellect. Now the slave is distinguished by marks, which even nature herself cannot obliterate; these marks, by the institutions of the present day, designate their condition, and such is the odium with which that condition is stamped, that no time or circumstance can extinguish it, while they shall remain among their masters. The black skin, the curled hair and the flat nose, will be held in contempt and disgust by the white man, and felt as the cause of his degradation by the negro, so long as they shall each remember that they were the distinguishing marks between the free man and the slave: and hence, the absolute necessity of their separation from us; for under such circumstances, there never can be a frank, free and happy communion.

The manner of conducting the slave-trade, and the extent to which it is carried, will now occupy a few moments of our attention. Africa, poor benighted Africa, is the theatre upon which for ages, cupidity and avarice have exhibited the most disgusting scenes of rapine and barbarity; for it is not only that millions have been taken and dragged from their country and their homes, into hopeless slavery, but millions have been sacrificed in the violence necessary to their caption. The knowledge we have acquired of the interior of Africa, is very limited. Ledyard, Mungo Park, Captain Clapperton, Major Denham, Major Laing, and Mr. Bowdich, have been the principal travellers in that devoted country lately. Park, Clapperton, Laing, have fallen sacrifices to their adventurous enterprises, and whether the others be dead or not, I am not advised. It is, however, to those laborious men pretty much, that we are indebted for our knowledge of the interior of Africa. A brief geographical sketch of this continent will be necessary, in order to enlighten our views in relation to this branch of our subject. Some have been hardy enough to arraign the wisdom and benevolence of the Creator so far as to give it as their opinion, that he originally intended the blacks to be slaves to the whites, in order to palliate their guilt for enslaving them. This conclusion, besides being at war with every idea we entertain concerning the attributes of Deity, finds its refutation in the fact, that the causes which have led to their caption and enslavement, obviously exist in nature, and are plainly de-

ducible from the history, situation and geography of the country which those unfortunate people inhabit.

Africa is situated chiefly in the torrid zone, with a seacoast of perhaps twelve thousand miles, and penetrated only by two or three considerable rivers: the Nile on the North-east, and the Gambia and the Senegal on the South-west, and the Niger in the centre; and they are navigable for sea vessels, only a short distance above their mouths. The whole of her eastern, and nearly the whole of her western border, is a bleak, boisterous, impervious shore, near to which no vessel dare venture. Hence, commerce, the harbinger and handmaid of civilization, never spreads her wings, and hence the moral gloom and darkness, that overspreads her vast interior. Besides this, between her northern border and the centre lie arid deserts, impassable to every thing but the wandering Arab and his enduring camel; and whose commercial visits, even were his interests not averse to it, we have a right to presume, would be little calculated to enlighten a people but a shade more barbarous than himself.—But the principal object of the Arab's visits is to obtain slaves, of whom they drive away thousands annually and sell them along the shores of the Mediterranean. Indeed it may be said of Africa, that although a large portion of her soil is fertile, her climate salubrious, and her natural resources immense, yet she exhibits on the map of the moral world, almost a perfect blank, and on the physical, a howling wilderness and a frightful desert. All around her gloomy seacoast, where nature seems to sit in solitary grandeur with the mountain wave dashing at her feet, here and there may be seen, in these dark solitudes, some miserable vestiges of human existence—the lonely hut of the man-stealer. Behind some nook of land, as though she dreaded Neptune's sight, lies the guilty pirate bark, waiting her sinful freight of human flesh and blood. To these wretched haunts, the poor trembling victim is brought in manacles, and delivered to his unfeeling future master. There are numbers of these depots around the coast, on both sides of this continent; they call them factories; they were established ostensibly for trading *with* the natives, but in truth, for trading *for* them. Christians, I should like to believe, once viewed this trade with horror; but about four hundred years ago, the Pope took upon himself to give an order to the Portuguese, to "conquer strange lands, not under the jurisdiction of any Christian Prince, and to convert the heathen, found there, to the true Christian faith, by enslaving them, or otherwise," and under this order, that government made various settlements, (if settlements they might be called) some on the east and some on the west side of Africa. Other nations, not recognizing the right of the Portuguese as divine and exclusive, ventured likewise, not only to make some lodgements of their own, but attacked the Portuguese themselves, and drove them from thence, and took the settlements in their own hands. The Dutch, the French, the British, and I believe the Turks on the Red sea, have their factories, scattered all along the coast, and even Sierra Leone and Liberia were formerly both slave factories; but for the honor of the United States, she never had such a factory in Africa, nor had she any territory, until she purchased of the natives at a fair price, the territory which this Society now occupies, and which is converted to a very different purpose from that, to which it was formerly appropriated. Africa, thus situated in relation to her exterior, surrounded with a solitary seacoast, excluded from legitimate commerce, infested with pirates, who had their haunts, in places, best calculated to promote their views, seemed almost to invite the horrid traffic which was carried on, while her interior is little less favourably adapted to the prosecution of the same inhuman commerce.—In the northern part of the continent, between the centre and Mediterranean, there is a tract of barren desert, over which the natives cannot travel, and which enables the Arab, by the use of his camel, totally to monopolize the traffic in slaves. It is said, that twenty or thirty miles from the ocean, on the west, the forests become almost entirely impenetrable, by reason of the

brambles and underwood, insomuch that the communication is in a measure cut off with the sea-shore, and which I presume, would render pursuit after the slave-taker hopeless, if not altogether useless, at least after he had once entered the thicket.

After having seen the situation of the country, a few words in reference to the manner of *conducting the slave-trade, may not be time misspent.* At all these factories along the coast, there are residing either traders or natives, who attend to the business. The slave vessels approach as nigh to the shore as their safety will admit; the goods are landed in canoes by the natives, who, it is said, manage them with a dexterity inconceivable almost to a white man, for they will conduct them in safety across the swells, which run almost mountain high on these bleak shores. These goods, which consist principally of trinkets and gewgaws, are offered for sale, and nothing will be taken for them but slaves. Ivory, cocoa-nuts, tamarinds, with all the tropical fruits are plenty, and even gold is so abundant, that the Governor of Bambarra paid as a tribute to the father of Abduhl Rahaman, a peck annually of that precious metal; yet none of these will be taken for gewgaws; nothing but human souls will do. It may be easily imagined that articles of this gaudy description, presented to the view of these untutored savages, would fascinate them to a degree bordering upon insanity; and would be well calculated to qualify their minds to run any hazard, or commit any outrage to gratify a passion so universally predominant among them. When these goods arrive, if there are not slaves sufficient on hand, the natives in some instances pursue them singly, and run them down. Every duplicity and every stratagem their savage ingenuity can invent, are made use of to circumvent and ensnare their victim. Major Denham gives a description of one of these *ghrazies* (that is, a slave hunt,) as they are there called, which is calculated to fill the mind with horror. He says nothing is more common, than for a large town to attack a smaller one, or several in succession; burn their houses, destroy their fields and flocks, massacre the old and infirm, and drive off as many able-bodied prisoners as they can get hold of. They are taught by the Turks, and even Christians, that it is perfectly correct to do thus: on the one side, Mahomet has taught his followers that it is orthodox, to enforce his precepts of religion by the power of the sword, and the Christians have the order of the Pope for subduing and enslaving the heathen; both find a specious pretext for the abominable traffic, while the poor deluded negro finds a sufficient motive for the perpetration of all its barbarities, in the gratification of his pride and vanity. Maj. Denham says, that in some of these *ghrazies*, they take three or four thousand prisoners. These depredations are committed without pretence of cause for war; but as the tribes, generally, are governed by petty Kings, it is not difficult, in case their avarice or their pride should prompt them, to allege some pretext for war. In many instances, indeed, the rulers sell their own people for slaves. They have been so long accustomed to this horrid kind of traffic, that they seem to commit it, even upon their own subjects without remorse. Dr. Randal gives an instance of a black Princess, or Mistress, whom he calls Mamma, who, though under a solemn treaty with him, not to suffer the slave-trade to be carried on from her Island, yet, in violation of that treaty, had reduced her subjects, by selling them to slave-dealers, from several hundreds, to about eight or ten families—and that he only discovered it, by their entering a complaint to him against her. This state of society, and this state of feeling, has been introduced among these unhappy, uncivilized creatures, by the seductive machinations of a people calling themselves Christians, prompted only by their avarice and cupidity; and although not universally, yet it prevails pretty generally along the coast of both oceans, and from the central part of the continent to its southern extremity: and those factories or depots established along the coasts, instead of being directed, as they might have been, to the civilization of the poor African,

have been converted to the horrid purposes of putting in motion, to his destruction, all his most savage passions. From this view of the situation of that devoted country, and the causes which have been brought to operate upon it, it would seem unnecessary to look beyond nature for the inferiority of the African, or to attribute it to the denunciations of that God, who sees with an equal eye, and directs with a just and unerring Providence, the destinies of his whole creation.

The foregoing may be said to be the active causes which have hindered the civilization, and led to the enslavement and degradation of the African.— Other causes, however, exist beyond all these: during the time of the prosperity of Egypt, of Greece, of Carthage, and of Rome, navigation was ill understood, and seldom extended beyond the inland seas. Hence, beyond the Red sea and the Mediterranean, the continent of Africa was little known; besides, its interior held out but few objects to attract the avarice or ambition of the military despot. As soon as the knowledge of nautical science, had enabled the Portuguese and other European powers to venture upon more distant voyages, and to explore the more distant regions of Africa, it, at the same time, became their interest, from the enervating heat of the climate, the immensity and stubbornness of the forests, to omit making permanent settlements, and apply themselves to the obtaining of gold with which the country abounds, and the purchase of slaves, to which the laws of their country had lately given countenance. To carry on this traffic most profitably, it was necessary to keep the poor African in the most profound ignorance and barbarism; and thus, through the turpitude of his fellow man, has he been rendered the instrument of his own destruction, and the curse of more enlightened nations.

In relation to the extent of the slave-trade as now carried on, it is not easy to give any very correct idea. It is thought, that there have been expended for slaves, since the Portuguese first gave a license to purchase them, a sum between thirty-five and fifty hundred millions of dollars. True it is, several nations, since the subject was agitated at the Congress of nations at Verona, in Italy, and since the correspondence of Mr. Monroe with various powers in Europe, have begun to adopt a more humane and liberal policy towards these unhappy people; yet the traffic is still carried on to a great extent. It is believed, that nearly 100,000 slaves are still annually dragged from Africa. Notwithstanding all the vigilance of the missionaries and public officers at the Cape of Good Hope, Sierra Leone, and other establishments, there yet are slave-traders actually residing secretly at these places; and when vessels have been detected in the illicit trade and forfeited and sold, the owners have bought them. There are slave factories at almost every inlet along the coast, where vessels steal in, obtain their cargoes and put to sea again unnoticed; and when a factory of this kind is discovered, or likely to be, it is broken up, and secretly removed to some other place. The Kroomen, who are continually plying along the shore, discover the approach of a public vessel at a great distance, and give notice to the slavers, who make their escape before they can be seized. In Chili, there are about five colored people to one white, and in Brazil there are ten; and these countries (Brazil in particular, which lies nearly in the same latitude of Sierra Leone, with about twenty-five hundred miles of the Atlantic ocean rolling between,) are perpetually augmenting their number of slaves; besides the vast numbers that are carried away to the West Indies, and the still greater numbers driven by the Turks through the land to the shores of the Mediterranean, and carried up the Pacific and through the Red sea. Thus is the abominable slave traffic carried on; and thus it will be, until Christian nations shall all agree to denounce it as piracy, establish some mode of breaking up those vile slave-factories on the coast, and agree to keep a constant train of public armed vessels in those seas to guard them.

I have endeavoured to show the nature, and the manner of conducting the slave-trade; and the deleterious consequence of the blacks remaining among us. The next topic which presents itself is, is it expedient and proper to colonize the free blacks on the shores of Africa? (the slaves we have nothing to do with) and if so, is the Colonization Society adequate to that vast undertaking?

If it be necessary to remove them from among us, it seems to me it must be done by colonizing them. They cannot, they must not, remain here; and I know no place for them, so suitable as Africa. Nature seems to have formed their minds, their constitutions and their habits, to suit the vivid rays of a vertical sun, rather than the biting blasts of the polar circles. As we have dragged them from the land of their fathers, it would seem no more than just, if we remove them at all, that we should return them thence again. It is ascertained to practical demonstration, that the colored man cannot endure the rigours of a northern climate. Moses, while a slave among the Egyptians, learned from them the sciences and the arts, and when restored to his country, he applied them to the benefit of his people, as the African may do, when he shall revisit his native land. Some have suggested the plan of colonizing them beyond the Rocky mountains, some of sending them to Hayti, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to send them to the latter place. It must occur to every one who reflects, that it will be much easier to establish a colony in Africa, than almost any other place on the globe. The distance, to be sure, is considerable, but the passage is quick, easy and safe. I believe there never has yet an accident happened to a transporting vessel, either going or returning. The passage is made in about thirty days from Philadelphia, and in about thirty-seven days from Liverpool, and there is a great uniformity as to time. Africa is sufficiently capacious to contain any amount of population that might be sent there, for instead of accumulating like other countries, for centuries she has been diminishing—she has, perhaps, been robbed and deprived of the means of increasing her population together, since the 15th century, to the amount of twenty or thirty millions. She contains a territory of something like eighteen millions of square miles, with a population that may be estimated at one hundred and fifty millions, (a very extravagant one, no doubt,) which will amount to not quite 9 persons to the square mile. The United States, taking in their whole territory, except that part derived from the treaty with Russia, extending westward to the Pacific ocean, sustain now, an average population of about thirteen persons to the square mile, which is very sparse, when it is believed by those who pretend to understand the nature of production and consumption, that New York itself is quite capable of sustaining the number of ten millions, or three hundred and fifty. Europe sustains upon an average, including her frozen regions and her vast forests, perhaps, about fifty persons to the square mile. Hence, were the whole amount of our blacks distributed upon the African continent, it would be scarcely felt.

The climate of Africa is not only suited to the constitutions and habits of the blacks, but settlements are much more readily made than in more rigorous ones. One eternal summer prevails throughout her whole extensive region; one perpetual bloom spreads over the face of the whole continent; and it may be said, that she yields her rich harvests through the unvaried year. Winter, with his hoary visage, never frowns upon the husbandman's labours.—Nor could you ever operate so far upon the credulity of a native African, as to induce him to credit the fact, that water would assume an obdurate form. The rich luxuriant fruits of her clime burst forth spontaneously from her bosom, and grow and ripen in endless succession. The Elephant, the Camel, the Horse, the Ox, and all the inferior animals, rove at large nor feel a stint of nature's bounties, or need the fostering care of man. The forests almost wave in vain, for the want of fuel is never felt. True, there are seasons of

incessant rain, but they are short, and give a new spring to vegetation.— There are some deserts, but there are few very high mountains; and upon the whole, perhaps there is a greater relative proportion of tillable land in that country, than in other parts of the world. Every kind of roots and pulse, and particularly vines, grow and flourish here in great abundance; and even Indian Corn succeeds pretty well. The domestic animals generally increase and thrive with very little care; and the husbandman's labour is well repaid in every object to which his attention may be directed. The soil is generally very fertile; the tropical fruits spring up spontaneously, and the abundance of wild game renders the essentials of savage life so easily attainable, that the motives to labour are almost annihilated. I am not sure that I would hazard much in saying, that this absence of motive to labour, and the consequent lack of competition, combined with that natural reluctance man feels to exertion when not spurred on by necessity, is one of the principal causes of the ignorance and barbarism that prevail in that devoted country.

Hence it is evident that a colony would be much more easily established in that country, than in one where the colonists would annually have to encounter the rigors of a northern winter. Indeed, experience has tested the theory here laid down; for the infant Colony of Liberia, with a single exception, continued to flourish from the moment of its commencement; and that exception originated, not in causes existing in nature, but in those which were altogether artificial. The difficulties to be encountered with the natives there, are not like those the first settlers had to encounter here. Here, the Aborigines were fierce, daring and inexorable;—there, so far as we have known them, they are timid, docile and irresolute: to this there are no doubt exceptions. Indeed, so different are they in character from the bold indomitable savage of America, who stakes his life upon the whirl of a tomahawk, that in fact, Mr. Ashmun, the Society's Agent, with twenty-eight men and boys, put thousands of them to flight.

Objections have been made by some, that it is too remote to found a colony with facility. The only objection on account of distance or remoteness, must arise from the difficulty and expense of emigration. These difficulties are diminishing every hour the Colony is progressing, and in a very short time will totally disappear. It cannot be desirable to have them near us; and although the distance is considerable, it is found that the expense of transporting an emigrant, will not be more than twenty-three dollars, from the place of embarkation.

Objections have been started in relation to the salubrity of the climate. Much pains have been taken by the Society, in order to obtain a knowledge of the relative health of the new Colony; and it is found to be very favourable to the coloured people. It is true, the climate is unpropitious to a white man; but this, so far from being an objection, ought to be considered as a circumstance in its favour. We have all seen and felt the difficulties of the Whites and the Indians settling in the same neighbourhood; that the former are continually encroaching upon the latter,—driving them back, breaking up their establishments, creating perpetual bickerings and heartburnings that have frequently terminated in war and bloodshed; and which now seem to threaten the total annihilation of the unhappy race of Aborigines. If there be any weight in this argument in relation to the Indians, it derives a double force when applied to the blacks. There are feelings existing between the white man and the coloured, that must be obliterated from the mind; circumstances that must be forgotten, which can only be effected by time, distance, and a more dignified position to be assumed by the blacks, and which daily associations are little qualified to favor. The condition to which they have been subjected, has sunk them in the scale of human existence, and there is no intermediate point at which they can meet; but the black man must rise to the height of the white, as the white will never sink to the level of the black.

Again, I believe if there is any one principle on which a majority of the civilized world at this day agree, it is, that the slave-trade is a commerce disgraceful to mankind, forbidden by God and nature, and that it ought to be suppressed and discountenanced by every nation under heaven. And it seems to me the only hope of success in putting it down, is derived from attacking it at its source; that is, by establishing colonies on the continent of Africa. I have endeavoured to describe briefly, the situation of that country and the manner of conducting the slave-trade, by which will be seen the facilities of obtaining slaves, and the motives held out to the natives to kidnap each other; and upon the whole view of the case, I think it will appear plain to every reflecting mind, that there can be no means adopted, that hold out the same prospect of success as the one proposed. * * * * *

(TO BE CONTINUED.)

REV. J. N. DANFORTH'S LETTER.

The REV. JOSHUA N. DANFORTH'S letter, which we subjoin, has called forth a bitter commentary from the *Liberator*, edited by Mr. WILLIAM L. GARRISON. This print finding it too difficult to answer the arguments and facts adduced by Mr. DANFORTH in support of the scheme of the Colonization Society, and in illustration of its claims on public confidence, resorts to the easy expedient of personal vituperation. Some idea of the temper in which the critique is written, may be formed from the following specimens:

"The high esteem which we entertain for the clerical profession, must be our apology for omitting, in our use of this man's name, the sacred title of 'Reverend.' If he has not, like the hypocritical priest described by Pollok, 'stolen the livery of the court of heaven to serve the devil in;' he has, at least, been guilty of propagating the most glaring misrepresentations concerning this paper and the cause which it advocates. Whether these misrepresentations are wilful, or the fruit of that ignorance and stupidity, which are his distinguishing traits, we pretend not to say. His letter, which we publish to-day, addressed to Colonel Stone, is a compound of folly, presumption, arrogance and misrepresentation."

"It is no merit in Mr. D's. estimation to disturb the peace of the wicked, and to incur their displeasure;—and we venture to say that he never will be imprisoned by his slave driving employers, for disturbing them in their sins."

"Were it not for our regard for the welfare of Africa, and our desire that the Colony may be filled with better men, we should think it would be an excellent plan to ship Mr. Danforth to Liberia, where he can enjoy the blessings of that earthly paradise, as a reward for his faithfulness to the interest of the slave drivers in slandering the Abolitionists."

BOSTON, March 28, 1833.

TO WILLIAM L. STONE, Esq.

Chairman of the Executive Committee of the New York City Colonization Society.

The perusal of some recent remarks from your pen on the very delicate and momentous subject of slavery in the United States, has prompted me to address you. This is emphatically an age of discussion and agitation, if not of 'reason.' We hear of the giant march of liberal principles. We are taught to anticipate the universal triumph of benevolence, humanity and freedom.

Different plans for meliorating the condition, and relieving the miseries of the wretched, have been devised, defended and pursued with different success. In the progress of events in our own country, it has been impossible that either a thoughtful or philanthropic mind should be insensible to the existence of that portentous national evil—*slavery*.

Accordingly, States have legislated; Courts have adjudicated; the Press has discussed the subject; the Pulpit has occasionally spoken; Public Meetings have agitated the question; Societies have been formed, constituted on different principles. The two great leading principles, however, which have been embodied in nearly all regularly organized associations, are *Colonization with gradual Emancipation*, and *Abolition or immediate Emancipation*.

You are aware that abolition societies have existed in this country for the last forty years. A whole generation has passed away, and what monuments have those societies left even to tell that *they were*? In the meantime, the evil still threatened, and forced itself on the public mind with augmented terrors. *Something*, it was confessed, must be done. The North saw it.—The South *felt it*. An annual increase of the slaves at the rate of 50,000 or 60,000, was not to be disregarded. Like all great evils, which have fatally interwoven themselves with the interests of whole communities and nations, this one demanded and *SUGGESTED* its remedy. Let me illustrate my meaning, and if I do not derive from the analogy of God's Providence a powerful argument for the colonization system, then the lessons of history have been transmitted to us in vain.

The ecclesiastical, which was, in fact, the civil bondage and darkness of the middle ages, was so grievous, that the human mind, by a desperate, though long protracted effort, at length gained the regions of liberty and light. That era, distinguished as it was by concomitant discoveries, was the commencement of a series of changes which have overspread the civilized world. The deformity of error compelled men to search for truth, and they found her, robed in all her beauty. Then came to the aid of the inquiring intellect, the art of printing, recently discovered; and to the aid of adventurous spirits, the art of navigation, the result of another discovery—all sent by a kind Providence as most obvious and appropriate remedies for evils of vast extent, and all pregnant with blessings, gradually evolving themselves for coming generations. They called the nations of this Western continent into existence.

Let me now pass, concisely, to the consideration of another kindred fact. We owe the present wide-spread, beneficent—I had almost said morally Omnipotent—system of Sabbath School instruction, which is belting the world with a zone of light and love, under God, to a man who was constrained by an urgent, accidental, (as we say) scene of moral wretchedness, to seek a REMEDY. The simple remedy was a Sunday School, for a few profane and brawling children. What results! Once more—it is not long since the most sanguine minds despaired of any remedial means for the wasting evil—Intemperance. Behold! it has led the world to its own remedy, equally simple and effectual. Now observe another feature in the reformation from these evils. That reformation has in no instance been accomplished by an instantaneous stroke. It is not the way of Providence. It cannot, therefore, be the way by which human means are to operate. No sudden irruption of human benevolence can achieve these moral triumphs. Not redemption itself burst upon the world in this manner. The deliverance was *gradual*. I should rather say it is gradual, for the work is still going on, and the world is now *looking forward* to grander results.

In perfect harmony, as I conceive, with providential arrangements and achievements like these, is the scheme of AFRICAN COLONIZATION, which owes its conception and prosecution to the existence of a mighty evil in the bosom of our own country. The reasons for action in some form were numerous and urgent. The safety of the whites—the ignorance and degradation of the free blacks—the comfort of the slaves—State policy—considerations of patriotism—the peace of the country—the prospects of the African race generally—the horrors of the slave-trade—the uncanceled obligations of the Christian community—all urged the formation of *some* plan, which should at least open a view through the vista of hope, if it did not conduct us into it. At this juncture, the *American Colonization Society* was formed, very properly, at the central city of the Republic. If it had been formed in the heart of the slaveholding States, it might have been regarded with just suspicion, as a device to perpetuate slavery. If it had originated in the free States, it would have been certainly considered and reprobated with indig-

nation, as a scheme for forcing a general emancipation upon the South. In either event jealousies would have been created and cherished, equally painful to the whites, and injurious to the blacks. There was one spot where it was possible to make a great national effort, so neutral that suspicion would be disarmed;—so public that all the acts of the Society must necessarily be scrutinized by the eyes of the nation looking to that focal point;—so peculiar that patriotism would kindle to its highest enthusiasm—in the city of WASHINGTON, and in the temple of liberty that crowns its loftiest summit. (1)

To preclude all possibility of honest complaint against the motives which actuated those concerned in the general management of the Society, there was scarcely a profession or denomination in the land that did not participate in its early movements. There were Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Catholics, Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists; slaveholders and non-slaveholders; civil men, political men, and religious men; northern men and southern men; men of great and humble abilities. They declared their object in their constitution. They did not meet to produce another abortion in the form of an *abolition* Society. They met to form a *Colonization* Society. That was object enough. That was a good object enough, and as great as good.—Like all human institutions, that have blessed or cursed mankind, it was doubtless advocated with different views and expectations.

John Randolph, in 1816, thought it would secure slave property. He therefore befriended it. He is now its enemy. Henry Clay thought it would, in its ultimate results, civilize Africa and emancipate our own country. Mr. Clay adheres to it: So did Caldwell, Finley, Mills, and Ashmun, who are united with the honored dead. Mr. Archer seems to look at it only as an instrument of keeping the slaves in the path of obedience, industry and fruitfulness. Mr. Everett regards it as a vast engine for the demolition of tyranny and barbarism in Africa, while in common with the great majority of its friends both at the North and South, he considers it as gradually undermining the entrenchments of slavery in the country.

You also have your views. You see reasons sufficient to induce you to continue the firm friend of the Society, though you may not regard the plan as a perfect one—its imperfection necessarily arising out of the peculiar relations of the North and South—and therefore as perfect as the nature of the case admits.

The plan, however, has succeeded. In ten years from the commencement of operations, Providence having directed to the most suitable of all places in Africa, a colony is firmly established. It has overcome incipient difficulties, as of sickness, destitution, want of system, &c. It contains *three thousand* inhabitants, one thousand of whom are emancipated slaves. A government of liberty and law is formed. The freedom of the press, trial by jury, the right of suffrage, and all that appertains to a government founded on equal rights and popular representation, are abundantly enjoyed. The native tribes in the vicinity are tendering their allegiance to the Colony, and receiving in return its protection. Schools have been established for all the children in the Colony. Churches are erected. Agriculture and Commerce are thriving. (2) Additional territory, without limit, may be purchased from the willing tribes and rightful owners. A vast region, like that of the Valley of the Mississippi, fertile and beautiful, unfolds its treasures to the intelligent settlers. Thousands are now seeking a passage to that land. From the success of this experiment, a high moral advantage is derived to the colored people in this country.

In the midst of all these successful endeavors, there appears a young man within the last two years, of the name of Garrison, whose pen is so venomous, that the laws enacted for the peace of the community and the protection of private character, have in one instance actually confined him in jail, as they would a Lunatic. This man, who according to his own account, (3) has on-

ly since 1830 turned against the Colonization cause, in favor of which he delivered his sentiments in public twelve years after the Society was formed; this man, who is considered such a disturber of the tranquillity of Southern Society, that \$10,000 reward have been offered me for his person, and the most touching appeals as well as official demands made to us in this region, that he should be publicly discountenanced, and even given up to justice; who is in fact this moment in danger of being surrendered to the civil authorities of some one of the Southern States; this man, in connection with a few like-minded spirits, has been engaged in forming what they call 'The New England Anti-Slavery Society;' (4) one object of which is, 'to effect the abolition of slavery in the United States.' If you have ever seen the incendiary publication, the *Liberator*, you may form some idea of the nature of the harangues of the agents of this Society, which are very severe against the South, and the Colonization Society.

They consider that Society as standing in the way of emancipation—as a scheme of slaveholders to subserve their selfish ends—as a guilty plot to drive out the free negroes that the slaves may be held more securely—(though one-third of the Liberian Colonists, that is, about a thousand, are emancipated slaves!)—as doing nothing right, but every thing wickedly, because it does not at once insist upon immediate emancipation. These agents have traversed the country, (not the southern portion, mark you—they are too *discreet* for that,) thrusting themselves, though unlicensed, into pulpits, when they could; sometimes deceiving the clergy as to their real object, and into town halls and other places, when ministers have refused to encourage them, as, according to their complaints, they often do. They have been in the habit of boldly claiming converts to their cause among leading men, who, in my presence, have indignantly pronounced these claims false. I have the names and the testimony of such. One of these agents informed me that it was their object to produce such a revolution in public sentiment, as that the national legislation should be brought to bear directly on the slaveholders, and compel them to 'break every yoke.' But, first of all, they have undertaken the sublime work of demolishing our Society. Of the spirit and temper in which they are proceeding to this task, you may form some idea from the following prelude blast, which Garrison, their leader and master, has blown from his fiery trumpet:—'The superstructure of the Colonization Society rests upon the following pillars—1. Persecution. 2. Falsehood. 3. Cowardice. 4. Infidelity. If I do not prove the Colonization Society to be a creature *without heart, without brains, eyeless, unnatural, hypocritical, relentless, unjust*, then nothing is capable of demonstration'!!! This is a little specimen of the foam and fury that overflow the pages of his book. (5) Among the pertinent and powerful chastisements which it has received from those presses, which have condescended to notice it, is one from the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, and another from the *Christian Spectator*.

You know that the Christian religion is indebted for some of its noblest vindications to the ferocious attacks of its enemies. These assaults upon our Society have called forth, in Boston and elsewhere, some of the most able and triumphant arguments in its defence, which distinguished public speakers, both clerical and laical, have ever delivered. Many minds that had slumbered in indifference, have been aroused to investigation, and the result is most auspicious; for it has developed a mass of moral power, ranging itself on the side of truth, prudence, the Constitution, and the country, which will present an effectual barrier to the irruption of a reckless fanaticism upon the peace and tranquillity of the South. There are, doubtless, some amiable, upright and benevolent, though mistaken men, who have enlisted under the 'anti-slavery' standard, but if, in propelling the current of their influence over the homes and the fields of the South, they should succeed in exciting an agitation there—we all know what *kind* of success it would be, if Southern men speak true.

It would first be written in the blood of the living, and then inscribed on the tombs of the dead. It would be a poor consolation to reflect that such a catastrophe was the result of a *mistake*. We wish not to suppress fair and candid discussion. But there is a *time*, a *mode*, a *season* for handling great and critical questions, which a wise and benevolent man will not disregard. It is a homely proverb, but one deeply founded in truth and good sense, that '*haste makes waste.*' '*What is done in a hurry is seldom well done.*' The Colonization Society has opened the door of discussion, but not so violently as to break the hinges. It could hope little from fulminating the fiercest anathemas against the holders of slaves, but much from mild and persuasive argument, co-operating with the inevitable tendency of the great principles on which our government is founded to a more enlarged freedom and a higher prosperity.—The fable of the wind and the sun is in point. The wildest blasts of Boreas only made the traveller draw his cloak around him with a firmer grasp. Under the gentle, but effectual influences of Sol, he soon threw it aside.

If after a thorough investigation into the origin and objects of the 'N. E. Anti-Slavery Society,' the clergy are satisfied that such emissaries as go forth to put down slavery and vituperate the Colonization Society, should be entertained, they will meet no hindrances from me or the Society which I represent, but such as truth and argument may create. It is high time, however, for the leading minds of New England and New York, to speak out. If the doctrines of these men are correct—if the course of public and private denunciation against the South and the Society, which they are pursuing, is the true one, then let us know it. We all wish for abolition. But if their loud and clamorous demand for immediate emancipation be not wise—if, on the contrary, the prudent and gradual operations of the Colonization Society, be the most safe in principle, and sure in practice, uniting all, and offending none but the restless and the headlong, then it will receive additional support from the people of the North; and then, should the real friends of the colored people decisively declare their minds. I have taken special pains to ascertain public sentiment at the South regarding our Society.

All the friends and advocates of emancipation there, regard it as the only hope of the South, and they say, if we will let them alone, they will try to work their way out of the slave system. '*Nothing is more dreaded,*' says a Virginian, in a letter to me, '*by the great mass of persons opposed on principle to slavery in this region, than such inflammatory publications, (alluding to Garrison's,) as they throw increased obstacles in the way of emancipation, and if they could have all the influence that seems to be aimed at, they would bring on a struggle that must result in the extermination of the blacks.*'—Again. '*Did any one ever doubt that in proportion as the Society succeeds in providing for the free colored man an asylum where he may enjoy all the blessings of freedom, knowledge and religion, and in making this easy of access to all, it would remove the difficulties which have hitherto deterred hundreds of humane masters from emancipation, and increase many-fold the motives to the slave to seek, and the master to give emancipation? It is a fact, that just in proportion as the Colonization Society has become popular in any part of this country, just in that proportion the subject of EMANCIPATION has been discussed and become popular, and hundreds of masters in all this country are looking now with anxious eyes to the growth of the Colony, and the prosperity of the Society, as opening a door for them to bestow freedom on their slaves.*'

And yet these sapient abolitionists have recently discovered in our Society a dark and cunning plot to '*rivet the bonds of slavery.*' And upon this string they are harping night and day, probably upon the principle that any story, however incredible or false, will, if told often enough, gain believers. The people of the South must, however, know that they do not speak the voice of New England. If they did, we must soon look for a separation of the

States. I have conversed freely with the Governor of this Commonwealth, and other leading men, on this subject, and they express a decided disapprobation of Garrison's course. For a while he tried the effect of his *Liberator* upon the Governor by sending it to him. His Excellency, however, did not think it worth the postage and ordered it stopped. Garrison is now preparing to go to England, doubtless to repeat *viva voce* the defamation of the South and the Colonization Society, which has been already sent over in print, and re-echoed in this country as authentic British opinions.

I have already adverted to the Colonization system, as wisely designed by Providence gradually, like all great remedies, to meet with a calm and subduing energy, the great evil which affects our country. How is it thus adapted? 1. By engaging the South itself in the work of renovation. Look at those States which warmly advocate the system—for example, Virginia, Maryland and Kentucky. The first two have acted officially in the premises.—The latter is coming on, and her voice will soon be heard. 2. By inviting and urging thought, discussion, plans, contributions for the benefit of the colored people. All this is done openly, but constitutionally, with kindness to slave owners, but with a steady adherence to the great principles of universal liberty. Vested rights are not boldly invaded, while the standard of moral duty is raised high to the view of those most deeply concerned. 3. The creation of a new republic in Africa out of the ruins of the colored race in this country, free, elevated and independent, enacting their own laws, and administering justice among themselves, will constitute a more substantial argument and motive for their universal emancipation, than volumes of wild declamation against slavery, and of fierce denunciation of slaveholders, unaccompanied by a single practical movement for the benefit of whites or blacks. 4. The removal of the free colored population from the presence of the slaves, to an enlightened and industrious community, removes from the latter the sources of temptation to idleness, insubordination and insurrection; saves them the distress of a more rigorous bondage, consequent on rebellion; and furnishes the former with employment and the means of elevation.

5. The Colonization Society appeals to the will of the masters, instead of appealing to the passions of the slave, and seeks to turn it to the policy of universal emancipation. 6. It invites the co-operation of the friends of freedom throughout the Union, and throughout Europe. It has agents in the Northern States and in England. This looks little like stifling the voice of Liberty. 7. It has adopted vigorous measures against the foreign slave-trade, the success of which must lead to the extinction of the domestic slave-trade. 8. It has already enlisted many influential individuals in the Southern and Western States, who are on principle opposed to slavery, but who, in common with others, are as yet restrained by State legislation from emancipating their slaves, except on condition of removal. 9. It takes away from those who are disposed to emancipate their slaves the necessity of retaining them, when the slaves are willing to emigrate to Africa. 10. By its undeviating regard to the Constitution of the Union and the laws of the States, it secures a confidence which has been strengthened with every revolving year, and will ultimately be of immense benefit to its policy, while a more abrupt and violent mode of operation would quickly extinguish every hope of relieving the slave population. 11. By aiming at a united action of all the States—giving the South and West the lead, it avoids sectional jealousies, and preserves fraternal feelings throughout the Union. The exclusive separate action of a portion of the States would be difficult and dangerous. Hence those Northern enthusiasts, who are now essaying to take the work into their own hands, find, according to their own confession, a tremendous force of public opinion against them. This they expect to overcome, and ride upon the storm of Northern indignation, as it sweeps over the prostrate slaveholders of the South. 12. By engaging the prayers of all Christians for our deliver-

ance from slavery, for the triumph of liberty, and of that Christianity, which 'proclaims liberty to the captive and the opening of the prison to them that are bound,' it has put a moral lever under the foundations of this execrable system, which at no distant time must effect its overthrow.

Such are my views. Until I find some plan wiser, more fitted to the end at which we aim, and more effectual in its operation, I must support the Colonization Society. It has done something. If it be called comparatively little, it is positively much. It is much, very much, to have practically shown *how* the African race may be created anew. To pull down is easy. The Ephesian incendiary with a single torch laid the beautiful temple in ruins.—A knave may wrap a whole city in a conflagration. But can he rebuild it, or repair the loss? Fortunately for our Society, the materials of which it is composed, are such that the hottest fire proves to be like the 'gold seven times purified.'

I am, very truly, your obedient servant,

J. N. DANFORTH,

General Agent of the American Colonization Society.

(1) The annual meetings of the Society are generally held in the Capitol. How absurd the idea, to hold public meetings in such a place with all the free States at full liberty to take part in them, for the purpose of 'making slavery more secure.' Yet such is the pretence of Northern Abolitionists.

(2) Exports for the year ending April, 1832, \$120,000. Imports \$80,000,—59 vessels visited Monrovia last year. The whole sum paid for this prosperity is but \$155,000! A cheap, but glorious monument erected by American liberality.

(3) *Thoughts on African Colonization*, p. 4.

(4) Of this Society, W. L. Garrison was, till recently, Secretary, and the heat of his pen is quite palpable in its 'First Annual Report.' Why he was removed to make way for a gentleman of a cooler head, it is not difficult to conjecture.

(5) *Thoughts on African Colonization*; a book, in which the most disgusting egotism is scarcely hidden in the folds of the grossest misrepresentation; and the wretched penury of argument attempted to be concealed by a cataract of abuse. It is in fact a labored concoction of the mass of volcanic matter, which for two or three years has been belched forth from that Vesuvius of the press—the *Liberator*.

THE PEOPLE OF COLOUR IN THE UNITED STATES.

The *New York Commercial Advertiser*, of April 27, in noticing the proposed Convention of Free People of Colour, to be held in Philadelphia, holds the following sensible language in regard to one of the visionary schemes which some opponents of Colonization in Liberia have recommended:—

"It is understood that the delegates are generally, if not altogether opposed to the Colonization Society—adverse to going to Liberia—and that they have it in contemplation to plant a colony in the Texas.

These prejudices entertained by them against removing to Liberia have been created and fostered, as is well known, by the deluded advocates of *immediate* emancipation. Misguided fanatics often occasion more mischief than avowed infidels, for their honesty of purpose may sometimes give them influence, when the personal character of the latter might prove an antidote to the perversity of their doctrines. We cannot but regard these persons as the greatest foes to the best interests of the African race. Their number, however, is few, and though the noise they make is great, their influence is small. Yet, if it can be *clearly* shown that a settlement in the Texas would answer the purpose of the blacks, we would not lay a straw in their path. We are quite certain, however, that they will find obstacles in their way, much more difficult to overcome than a settlement in Liberia. In the first place, a conveyance to the Texas would be more expensive, on an average, than a passage to Monrovia. This may be easily ascertained by comparing the expense of a conveyance to the latter, with the expenses which are incurred in removing the Indians to their new locations in the West. In the second place, the price of the land in Texas is vastly dearer than in Africa. Thirdly, they must conform to the Catholic religion, (if they would have any religion at all,) whatever may be their particular creed, or they will live in constant inquietude, as well from the jealousies of the Government, as of their neighbors around them. In the fourth place, very few of our colored people are acquainted with the Spanish language, and this they must acquire if they would hold any intercourse with the present population of that region. It is well known that their ignorance of the French language was one of the principal causes of the dis-

content of the emigrants who went to Hayti, a few years ago, on the invitation of President Boyer. In the fifth place, admitting all these difficulties susceptible of removal, there is another which we presume will be found to be insurmountable. This presumption is founded upon the belief that their purpose will be to emigrate overland; for should they proceed by water, the navigation would be almost as long, and altogether more dangerous than the voyage to Liberia. If they undertake it over land, how will they get to Texas? They must pass through Louisiana, which is a slave State, and will never suffer any facilities to be given for the establishment of a black colony on her borders. Laws would be passed to seize them on their way, and thus frustrate their object. Indeed there is such a community of feeling among all the slaveholding States, that we are much inclined to think that in the apprehension of the Texas colony becoming a refuge for runaways, they would contrive ways and means to prevent their emigration even by sea. At all events the other embarrassments we have alluded to are such that we trust the Convention will ponder the matter well, in all its bearings, before they venture upon a measure fraught with so many obvious and appalling discouragements."

On this plan of Colonization at Texas, the following remarks from the *Richmond Whig* deserve deep attention from both the free people of colour in our country, and the advocates among the citizens of the Union, of precipitate abolition:—

"It can never be shown that Texas will answer the purpose of the free people of colour of this country. The country does not exist, which from its social and political condition, is more unsuitable for the location of the blacks. Already entered by great numbers of adventurers from the United States, and the refuge of all who avoid justice from Mexico, the blacks would stand as little chance for peace, quiet, and the protection of laws, among a population thus fierce, turbulent, and often lawless, as the lamb for quarter in the fangs of the wolf. Can they contend with the treacherous Spaniard and Creole, or those hardy and law despising adventurers who are sure to be found on the skirts of civilization? They cannot, and a brief space would see their settlement invaded, their possessions rifled, and themselves expelled from their chosen city of refuge. An inferior race can never exist in safety, surrounded by a superior and one despising them. The free negroes must seek within the torrid zone, that chosen land which they may seek but will never find North of it. Nature must make the country uninhabitable to the white man, or his more enterprising character will reach it at last, and kill and take possession."

In animadverting on the movements of the opponents in the Northern States of the American Colonization Society, the *Whig* says:

"These people are doing infinite mischief at every turn, and it will not be their fault if every enlightened plan of melioration is not defeated. When the prejudices of the South against Colonization are vanishing before the lights of reason and experience; when the prosperity of Liberia exceeds every thing in the history of Colonization, and the feasibility of discharging the free blacks upon the shores of Africa and planting them in a congenial clime, is demonstrated, these mischievous madmen, nowise interested but through a fanatic zeal, come in to overthrow the noblest work ever undertaken!"

Wherever among foreigners the condition of people of colour, bond or free, in the United States, is properly understood, the opinion prevails that any scheme of improvement excluding emigration, is impracticable. We were forcibly struck with an illustration of this remark in a criticism in a recent number of the *Foreign Quarterly Review*, (published at London), on Mr. ACHILLE MURAT's sketch of the United States.

"The test of experience," say the Reviewers, "has made it very clear that the whites and blacks cannot live on one territory in a state of equality, any more than the whites and red men. They never mix, except to assume the position of master and servant, or of master and slave. They cannot associate together, for they are incapable of conversing upon the same subject."—In speculating on the evils to be apprehended from the present state of things, the Reviewers observe,—"The question is, how shall this be prevented? In the case of the American continent by exportation to Africa:" the very scheme of the Colonization Society, with the restriction that this exportation is to be voluntary on the part of the emigrant. That the operation of this system should be gradual, is a rule prescribed to it by the circumstances of the country; but that it will ultimately be successful, should the Society persevere in its original principles, and be able to neutralize the hostility of fanaticism, cannot be doubted, if its past history give any augury of its future progress.—Mr. Murat, who resided some years in the United States, and who seems to have been an intelligent observer of their condition, makes this remark:—

"Formerly, slavery was general in the United States, but in proportion as free labor has become cheaper, the Legislatures have abolished it. The same thing is now taking place under our eyes in Virginia and Maryland; where the population having increased, the price of labor and negroes has diminished. The proprietors get rid of them as fast as they can; their negroes are purchased for the new States, in which labour is dear." In process of time, what is now the experience of Virginia and Maryland, will be for the same reasons, the experience of the new States, with the difference against the latter, of not being able to 'get rid' of their slaves by the same process. Waiving, then, the higher motives of religion and philanthropy, one might expect that considerations of interest merely would fix the South in attachment to the Colonization Society, as the only practical plan of ultimate relief from what all admit to be an oppressive burden, without incurring grievous concomitant evil. And, on the other hand, let the ultra abolitionists, a small but vigorous section of the Northern friends of the people of colour, consider well what will be the condition of these persons when the preference of white over black and mulatto labour shall have been generally admitted in all the States of the confederacy. This is a point of the future, to which we must, on some convenient occasion, invite in advance the attention of the public, and especially of those who arrogate to themselves exclusively, the title of Anti-Slavery men.

In connexion with the topic just suggested, we subjoin a passage taken from the Journal already cited: premising that the alleged reluctance of the slaveholders to part with their property is stated too strongly; and that it is stated unfairly, because no allowance is made for the belief at the South that emancipation and continued residence in the United States, are incompatible with the happiness of either the liberating master or the liberated slave. The passage referred to, follows a remark of Mr. MURAT, that every State in the Union will gradually and voluntarily, under the stimulus of circumstances, "be at last fairly rid of this domestic plague"—slavery.

"This is precisely the mode in which the abolition of Slavery must take place in the Union, for to suppose that the slaveholders will give up what they have been taught to consider their property, and many of them possessing no other property, is a hopeless case, because they have the power of maintaining it; and if the negroes were enlightened enough to give regular battle for their freedom, the whites, from their superior intelligence, would slaughter them by thousands. The writer of this article, was once rambling over the estate of Mount Vernon, in Virginia, formerly the property of General Washington; and, having lost his way, entered into conversation with an old negress,—in the course of which, she burst into a long tirade against the Virginian land-holders, who were selling off their slaves to the Southern markets; and in some cases giving them their freedom. She, herself, had formerly been a slave on the estate of Mount Vernon, but had been free six years,—and concluded by wishing that she were a slave still, for in that state she had nothing to think of; whereas, being free, *she could hardly make a living.*"

What a difference between her condition, and that of the colonists at Liberia!

INTELLIGENCE.

AUXILIARY SOCIETIES.

The Cincinnati Colonization Society held their annual meeting on Monday, the 14th of January last, in the First Presbyterian Church, at Cincinnati.

"The President of the Society being absent, Judge Burnet took the chair, and H. Starr, Esq. acted as Secretary. After the organization of the meeting, the Rev. J. Gallaher ad-

dressed the Throne of Grace; after which, George Graham, jr. read the annual report.

"When the reading of the report was concluded, Rev. Lyman Beecher, D. D. offered the following resolution, accompanied by appropriate remarks.

"Resolved, That the efforts of the Colonization Society demand the confidence and co-operation of philanthropists, patriots, and christians, as a wise and successful effort, approved of Heaven, to facilitate the education and emancipation of slaves, and the abolition of

slavery, at home; and by the introduction of christianity, and civilization, and civil liberty, and the extinction of the slave-trade, in some measure to repay injured Africa for her protracted and unutterable sufferings and wrongs.

"Rev. James Gallaher then offered the following resolution, with remarks upon the importance of the subject.

"*Resolved*, That it is the duty of the people of this country, to use every exertion to establish the means of education among the colored people, after their removal to Africa.

"The following resolution was offered by Dr. K. J. Sparks, with a brief history of Mr. Finley's exertions.

"*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Society be tendered to Robert S. Finley, Esq. for the well directed zeal he manifested to establish and sustain the Cincinnati Colonization Society, and the able and eloquent manner in which he has advocated the principles of the American Colonization Society, while Agent of the Parent Institution.

"On motion, the members proceeded to elect officers for the ensuing year, when the following persons were chosen.

"Rev. B. P. Aydelott, D. D. *President*; Hon. Jacob Burnet, *first Vice-President*; Rev. J. L. Wilson, D. D. *second Vice-President*; M. Williams, *Treasurer*; George Graham, jr. *Secretary*; James Foster, John P. Foote, P. S. Symmes, R. S. Finley, Moses Lyon, Dr. J. C. Finley, Rev. S. W. Lynd, B. Storer, Rev. A. Mahan, E. Fisher, Rev. J. Galleher, Dr. J. K. Sparks, George W. Neff, H. B. Funk, E. Jolley, H. Starr, M. D. Evans, *Managers*.

"The following gentlemen were appointed a Committee to procure subscriptions and receive donations to the Society:

"Dr. J. K. Sparks and E. Williams, *First Ward*; Henry B. Funk and Dr. J. C. Finley, *Second Ward*; Bellamy Storer and Peyton S. Symmes, *Third Ward*; George Graham, jr. and S. Burrows, *Fourth Ward*; Moses Lyon and James Foster, *Fifth Ward*."

A Committee, consisting of Messrs. George Graham, jr. and James K. Sparks, appointed to report on the condition of the Auxiliary Society, made a report, referring to its origin and progress, the success of the Parent Society, and the condition of the Colony. A regular collection of sums due, and remittances to the Parent Board, continued from the origin of the Cincinnati Colonization Society in November, 1826, till 1829, when in consequence of absence of some of the principal officers, and from other causes, no annual meeting was held, and no collection of debts was made. "In 1830," say the Committee:

"Several attempts were made to revive the Society, and to replenish the Treasury; but owing to the removal from the city of many of its members, the withdrawal from the subscription list of others, and the objection made by some to pay annually, these attempts failed. Since that time, the managers, with a

few who considered themselves members, supported the existence of the institution, by contributions, and by receiving collections taken up in the worshipping assemblies of our city; thus presenting to the friends of the system, a medium for the transmission of funds and donations to the parent Board. In 1831, the managers appointed a Committee to receive donations for the purpose of assisting R. S. Finley, Esq. the agent of the parent Board, in despatching a vessel from New Orleans, with western emigrants for the Liberia Colony.—To promote this object, the Committee paid over to the agent, between four and five hundred dollars, in cash and merchandize, which they received from individuals in this city and collections previously made in the neighboring towns. Dr. Shane, one of the members, with a zeal and benevolence worthy of the highest commendation, volunteered his services, and accompanied the expedition to Liberia, where he remained until he saw the colonists comfortably provided with a permanent residence. Thus you perceive, that this Society has been an important auxiliary to the parent Board; and although the records for the last three years, do not furnish a system of regular order in its proceedings, yet the aggregate amount paid, is equal to the preceding three years.—Add to this, the collections made in our churches, which did not pass through this Society, in their transmission to the parent Board; the very generous subscription of ten thousand dollars, made by Mr. McClure, a gentleman living in the vicinity of our city."

The Committee conclude by recommending the continuation of the Cincinnati Auxiliary Colonization Society, and increased efforts in promoting the objects for which it was organized.

Our readers will see from the subjoined proceedings, that the Board of Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society have adopted a preamble and some resolutions, contemplating the establishment of a new settlement at Cape Palmas.

The determination of the Auxiliary Board to promote the cessation of slavery in Maryland, deserves a large tribute of gratitude from every patriot and philanthropist in our country; and it may be hoped that the same generous and enlightened views which led to the determination, will predominate in the selection of means for carrying it into effect.

Of the particular considerations which recommended to the Auxiliary Board, the establishment of a separate Colony at Cape Palmas, we are unable to judge, except by inferences possibly deducible from the preamble; having received no intimation of their purpose prior to the movements in New York.

In this imperfect state of knowledge on the subject, we may presume that in the future reflections of the Auxiliary Board, due weight will be given to the various questions which must enter into the discussion of any definitive scheme. One of these is, what will be the probable effect, on the general plan of colonization, of a *partial* enterprise? A second question is, supposing that effect to be not injurious—what are the relative merits, on the one hand, of the broad and naked project put forth by the preamble, for colonizing Cape Palmas, under the exclusive auspices of a State Society, with emigrants going directly from our climate; and on the other hand, of peopling the proposed separate settlement with emigrants from Liberia, already seasoned to the African climate, and acquainted with the habits and dispositions of the natives? In connexion with this question, it is also to be noted, that any such separate settlement will be obnoxious, without any certainty of a favourable result, to the difficulties which so long resisted the parent Society, but which, through the collective energies given to it by most of the states, it has been enabled finally to overcome. A third question, and not the least important of the three, is one arising out of the first two; viz: conceding in argument the absolute superiority in theory, of the suggested settlement at Cape Palmas to all other plans, general or special, of colonization; does or does not the attempt to press it *at this time*, tend so to perplex public opinion and distract public patronage, as to place at great risk both the general system and the special project?

As the points just indicated, and kindred topics equally material, will of course receive due attention from our Maryland friends, who have heretofore done so much, so zealously and so discreetly for the cause of Colonization, we will no longer detain our readers from the proceedings which have occasioned the foregoing observations. They are as follows:

(From the *N. Y. Observer*, May 11.)

NEW YORK CITY COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

The anniversary of this institution was held at half-past 7 o'clock, on Wednesday evening, at the Brick Church. The chair was taken

by Professor Duer, and the meeting opened with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Cuyler.

Mr. Danforth expressed a very devoted attachment to the Society, affirming that he loved it the more from the fact, that its policy had been questioned. In advocating its claims upon the public patronage, he dwelt at considerable length upon its adaption, 1st. to meet the wishes of the free colored people who were desirous of emigrating; 2d. to meet the wishes of masters who were anxious to emancipate; 3dly. to promote the civilization of Africa; 4thly. to suppress the slave trade; and 5thly. to pave the way for the preaching of the Gospel to benighted Africa. He concluded by adducing the testimony of intelligent men at the South, to disprove the allegation that the measures of this Society tended to rivet the chains of slavery.

Mr. Thatcher, Editor of the Colonizationist and Journal of Freedom, from the information lately received, confirmed the statements of the preceding Speaker in regard to the condition of the Colony at Liberia. He then entered at some length into a view of the colonial policy of different nations both ancient and modern, and showed that our own existence and unexampled prosperity as a nation, were remotely owing to the very same system of measures which the Society is pursuing in respect to Africa. He remarked upon the superior facilities of civilizing the Negro, compared with those which existed in regard to any other untutored race of men on the globe, particularly the aborigines of our country.

Mr. Finley then presented a very interesting and important document from the Maryland State Colonization Society, containing the information, that they had determined to purchase a new territory, that of Cape Palmas, on the western coast of Africa, and found upon it a new colony of free blacks, with an ultimate view to the entire extirpation, at no distant day, of slavery within the bounds of that State. Upon this intelligence Mr. Finley commented as forming a new era in the progress of colonization efforts.

The following is the document alluded to.

"At a meeting of the Board of Managers of the Maryland State Colonization Society, held at the Colonization office on Monday, April 30th, 1833, the following preamble and resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"Whereas, it is the desire of the Maryland State Colonization Society, to hasten, so far as they can, the arrival of the period when slavery shall cease to exist in Maryland; and whereas, the Society believe that this can best be done by advocating and assisting the cause of colonization, which is the truest, the safest and the most efficient auxiliary of freedom under existing circumstances; and whereas, the cause of Colonization, which has already produced great results, and from which so much is still anticipated, must depend in Maryland upon the facilities afforded for the transportation and reception of emigrants on the coast of Africa, which can only be secured to the necessary and desired extent, by the establishment of settlements in Africa, where there will be no restraints upon emigration beyond the control of the State Society; and whereas, it is believed for these and other rea-

sons, to be expedient for the State Society, to form at this time, a new settlement on the coast of Africa; and whereas, it has been represented to the Society, that Cape Palmas and its neighborhood offer commercial and agricultural facilities of the most important character, so as to make a settlement there, desirable in every point of view; and whereas, it is believed that a settlement thus formed by a Society, whose avowed object is the ultimate extirpation of slavery, by proper and gradual efforts, addressed to the understanding and experience of the people of the State, would be viewed with peculiar interest by all those who advocated colonization on account of the tendencies towards liberty, and would receive that aid from them which would ensure its prosperity and happiness; and whereas, the Society believe, that it is proper to use every means in their power to raise Maryland to the rank of a free State of this Union, not only on account of the immediate benefit to herself, but on account of the illustration which she would then furnish of the effect of colonization in removing slavery:

"Therefore, be it resolved, That this Society will forthwith establish a settlement at a suitable point on the coast of Africa, and will take immediate measures to procure both within and without the State, the necessary pecuniary aid.

"Resolved, That the Committee heretofore appointed on the subject of a new settlement, be directed to report to the Board, upon the position and the details of the proposed settlement, together with the probable cost of the same.

"Resolved, That the Managers of the State Fund be solicited to lend their aid in such manner as they may deem proper in this behalf.

"Resolved, That the Corresponding Secretary be directed to address a copy of the above resolutions to the Agent of the New York State Colonization Society, and that Mr. Latrobe, Mr. Sheppard and Dr. Bond, be a Committee to conduct such correspondence as may grow out of the said resolutions in the recess of the Board."

Among the resolutions offered at the meeting, was the following:

Resolved, That this meeting regards with lively interest the proposition of the Maryland Colonization Society, to attempt the abolition of slavery in that State; and that it be recommended to the friends of the cause in this city, and elsewhere, to cooperate in the promotion of that enterprise.

REPORTS OF AGENTS.

The REV. E. W. SEHON writes, under date of St. Louis, Monday, April 20th, 1833, a few mornings before, at the annual meeting of the St. Lewis Colonization Society, he, by request, delivered an address, before a large and respectable audience. Seventy-three names were added to the list of members. A public collection was dispensed with, one having been recently taken up by Mr. Bascom. Mr. Sehon acknowledges the receipt of seven dollars, for jewelry, presented to him by Mrs. Rogers, of Morgantown, Virginia. The cause

of African Colonization has in the city many warm friends; and increasing attention to the subject, is daily evinced. Among the signers for \$10 a year at the late meeting, was Gen. Ashley

JOHN G. BIRNEY, Esq. writes, from New Orleans, April 13th, 1833. He received on that day from the Hon. Edward McGehee, of Mississippi, \$160, of which \$100 was his fifth annual subscription on the plan of Gerrit Smith; and the residue, \$60, was advanced by the Auxiliary Colonization Society, in Woodville, Mississippi, to the American Colonization Society. A considerable number of emigrants from Mississippi, are expected to be ready to go out in the ensuing autumn.

Saturday, April 20. This evening at five o'clock, all things being put on board the Brig Ajax, Captain William H. Taylor, (the same who commanded the Crawford) left the levee with 150 emigrants on board. She carried also Mr. Savage, a young gentleman from Ohio, who goes out as a teacher for the missionary station to be selected by Mr. Pinney, and Mr. King, heretofore Agent of the Tennessee State Colonization Society.

Sunday, April 21. The Ajax proceeded down the river this evening, though rather smaller than Mr. Birney could have wished; she is sound, in excellent order, and a good sailer.—Mr. Birney has little doubt that the amount of Judge Workman's legacy, will be transmitted very early. With his letter are forwarded his accounts, from which it appears that he has on hand \$534.64, belonging to the American Colonization Society.

In describing the scene presented when the Ajax left the levee, Mr. Birney says:

"Although my attention had, for some days, been given to details and duties, not of a character to arouse the finer sensibilities of our nature, yet, shall I—may I—never lose the remembrance of that exalted and soul-stirring emotion which the scene excited within me. Memory presented to me Africa, 'robbed and spoiled', 'weeping for her children—refusing to be comforted'—now I saw her rejoicing at their return;—I thought of the shriek of phrensy, the stifled groan of death in the slave ship—now I saw the sober joy of the restored, and in their countenances the beams of an elevating and glorious hope. I saw *Avarice* dragging them to our shores, wringing from them cries of despair and tears of blood. I now saw *Benevolence* conducting them to their own, their Fathers' land, drawing from their grateful hearts tears of joy, and thanks and blessings. If it be weakness to sympathise with the miserable made happy—to rejoice even to tears at the contemplation of this, my country's true glory—to feel an overmastering expansion of heart at this practical exhibition of benevolence, then I am most weak indeed!"

We have received several communications of late, from ELLIOTT CRESSON, Esq. the able and indefatigable Agent, in Great Britain, of the Society. His last was dated Glasgow, March 15, 1833: and manifests his unabated zeal and increased efficiency in the cause of Colonization. The opposition to the Society seems to have assumed in Great Britain a character of peculiar intolerance; in

consequence, doubtless, of the difficulty felt by foreign philanthropists, in bringing home to themselves the circumstances which in the United States, embarrass every scheme, however conscientious or rational, for the benefit of people of color, even when such a scheme is demonstrably identified with the interests of the whites. Every intelligent and candid Briton, who brings his mind to calm reflection on the subject, will admit, it is true that the responsibility for this state of things, rests with his own country and not with ours. But how hard does experience prove it to be in every land, to persuade passion to be reasonable and prejudice to be just! No man could have done more towards accomplishing this end than Mr. CRESSON has done. And, in despite of local prepossessions, and of hostile measures from home, he has, we have the satisfaction of knowing, produced an impression on the public mind in Great Britain, favorable to this Society, which is not likely to be speedily or easily effaced. He has succeeded in fixing the attention of some of the master spirits of that nation, on the cause of Colonization in Liberia; and in proportion to the exactness of their scrutiny, has been the degree of the favor with which they regard it. In the letter to which we have specially referred, he inculcates a lesson which he has himself exemplarily obeyed:—"support" he says, *"a noble integrity throughout this trying period, and every good man must become a Colonizationist."*

Though the unfavourable state of the weather, the casual absence of several leading individuals favourable to Mr. CRESSON's views, and other unforeseen circumstances, rendered the period of his visit to Glasgow unpropitious, the first meeting which he convoked was attended by about 800 persons, generally of much respectability. "Another adverse circumstance," says Mr. C. "is the bitter feeling grown up between the Church of Scotland and the dissenters lately—the latter having taken the A. S. S. lead, and my friends being among the former, has prevented that degree of union forming in England in our behalf. Then too, the Duke of Hamilton, whom we expected to preside, was called away to London, before my arrival. Our Committee deemed it best to make no collections at the night" [i. e. of a second meeting which was held.] "but they have since got for us some £60 or £80, and more is promised. £18 have also been sent from Perth." This last mentioned sum was collected by some young ladies of the Rev. Mr. THOMSON's family. "The stand taken by Lord MONCRIEFF, Mr. JEFFREY and others, may be the foundation of a support and cooperation, beyond mere temporary caprice or popular ebullition. By a letter received from Malta, by our friend Mrs. FLETCHER; it appears that there too, our deeds of love had awakened great satisfaction."

Mr. CRESSON had expounded the state of the Colony and the nature of the Colonization Society, at a meeting of 1300 persons, held in Belfast; and the effect was decidedly favorable. He had a very good meeting at Greenock, the chief magistrate presiding, and a Committee composed of the leading inhabi-

tants being formed, of which, JOHN DUNLOP, Esq. is Secretary.

Mr. CRESSON has many and vexatious difficulties to encounter; but his progress hitherto, encourages the hope that he will ultimately triumph over them all. One thing seems certain, that should he fail, the failure will not result from any lack of zeal or ability on his part.

THE COLONIZATIONIST.—We have received the first number of a new periodical with the foregoing title, published at Boston during the past month [April.] Its typographical execution is in the fine style for which the press of the "Literary Emporium" is remarkable; and its contents are of a highly interesting character. Among the articles of this number are, the first announcing the Editor's intended "course," one on the progress and present condition of the colony at Liberia; Mr. Mann's address delivered at the public meeting of the Boston Young Men's Colonization Society, March 13th, 1833; an article on Oregon colonization; an account of the late Boston Lyceum debate on the question—*"Have the measures of the American Colonization Society a tendency to remove the evil of slavery from this country?"* and a memoir of Abduhl Rahhahman, otherwise called the "Moorish Prince," whose original elevated condition, subsequent captivity, and ultimate restoration to the country of his fathers, are so well known, and have excited so general an interest.

The course prescribed by the Editor (B. B. THATCHER, Esq. a young gentleman well known for his literary attainments, and for several able articles in defence of the society,) is manly and liberal. After stating that his "magazine is unpledged to any society, or to any system," and adverting to the American Colonization Society, he says:

"But we also have, and we hope to have still farther, a direct opportunity of appealing to the reason and feeling of a class of our community, who have heretofore either more or less opposed that society, or have at least remained indifferent to its success. The latter description comprehends, perhaps, a large majority of the people of New England; and the fact arises, we conceive, from the want of information in regard to the principles and progress of the cause which we propose to advocate. We shall advocate it as free men—as New England men—as citizens of the union—as lovers of the great interests of humanity, freedom, and truth. We earnestly invite, for this magazine, the discussion of all the subjects, and the communication of all facts within its scope—it being, of course, always provided, that the articles shall be not only acceptable in a literary point of view, to our own taste, but also of such a spirit and temper, as shall render them likely, in our opinion, to do good rather than harm. We shall make exceptions to no argument, as an argument, and to no scheme, as a scheme.

"All this may be done, we think, consistently with common decency in the use of language, and with the exercise of that charity which "never faileth." Our neighbors the abolitionists, however much we may find oc-

casion to reprehend their '*modus operandi*,' will by no means, form an exception to this rule. Neither will the slave holders of the remote southern states—not even the most inveterate, absolute, avowed friends of the slave system, though they certainly have been and are, many of them, the most intolerant foes which the Colonization Society has had to encounter.—Still it seems to us unnecessary to call any of these parties by 'hard names.' Some of their sentiments we most cordially abhor, and we shall take occasion to show the why and wherefore without hesitation, and without 'mincing' the substantial subject matter in the smallest degree; but we shall still endeavor to keep in view the restraints which are set to zeal in the best of causes, by what may be called the constitutional principles of morality and religion, as well as of polity and law."

A faithful observance of the limitations mentioned in the last clause of this extract, will render the abilities which the editor of the "*Colonizationist*" brings to his new enterprise, a subject of great public and social benefit. We doubt not that his work will prove a valuable auxiliary to the cause of colonization.

We regret to perceive from the report of the debate at the Lyceum, that some of the speakers utterly misconceive the principles of the society, as might readily be shown, did space and opportunity permit, or were any thing necessary to be added to the remarks in defence of the society, which were made by other participants in the debate. The Editor of this Journal must, however, make his acknowledgments to Mr. Pearl, for correcting a misconstruction, placed by Mr. Johnson, on a passage in an article written by the Editor.

The question of debate was decided by a vote of 108 in the affirmative, and 46 in the negative.

The following are the officers of the Boston Young Men's Colonization Society:

President, Henry H. Huggesford—*Vice Presidents*, Henry Edwards, Francis O. Watts, Charles G. Green, J. B. Coolidge—*Recording Secretary*, George S. Hillard—*Corresponding Secretary*, Benjamin B. Thatcher—*Managers*, A. D. Parker, O. W. B. Peabody, Clement Durgin, R. L. Porter, Charles Bowen, G. A. Samson, Charles Hubbard, B. F. Wing, Thomas Hudson, Francis Alger, J. A. Bolles, R. C. Waterston.

TO YOUNG MEN OF COLOR.—The subscriber, resolved, if the Lord will, on making a special effort for the improvement of the colored race of men, hereby invites the *Young Men of Color*, residing within the limits of New England and the State of New York, between fifteen and thirty years of age, who are honest and industrious, who possess healthy and vigorous constitutions, who are desirous of obtaining an education, and are willing to devote from four to six years to this object, either at a public school, or with a private instructor, and to labor four hours in each day for their support, to report themselves to him, at Montpelier, Vermont, by letter, (post paid) previous to the first of June next.

The letter of each person should contain a certificate of his possessing the qualifications

above named, signed by a magistrate or minister of the gospel. As this notice may not otherwise meet the eye of numbers to whom it is addressed, such persons as are willing to aid in improving the intellectual and moral condition of colored men, and whose local situation gives them opportunity, are requested to search out and inform young men of color of this proposal, and to aid them, if necessary, in forwarding their communications.

Should any considerable number report themselves, as above invited, they, and the public, may expect a further communication on the subject of this article.

CHESTER WRIGHT.

Montpelier, Vt., March 26, 1833.

The Rev. Mr. Wright, is Secretary of Vermont Colonization Society, and one of the best and most influential Ministers of Christ in the land. We hope he may prepare many young men of color to become Teachers and Preachers of the Gospel in Africa.

Review of Pamphlets on Slavery and Colonization. New Haven: A. H. Maltby.—This is a Review mainly of a pamphlet on Colonization, put forth last year by Mr. Garrison. It is interesting as an exposure of some of the unwarrantable measures resorted to by this advocate of abolition, to prejudice the public mind against the African Colonization Society, and incidentally presenting the single object of that Society. The views of the writer are sound, and they are presented in a convincing manner. The notions respecting the influence of the Colonization Society, in elevating the condition of the blacks, inducing discussions of the subject of slavery, and leading to its final abolition, are briefly but impressively expressed. The pamphlet deserves an attentive perusal, and we have no doubt, will win it. We understand that 10,000 copies of it have been ordered for circulation in the State of Virginia.—*Connecticut Journal*, May 14.

THE EXPEDITION.—A letter-writer from this city for the *Boston Mercantile Journal*, (a new afternoon paper,) speaking of the expedition for Liberia, about being fitted out from New York, says:—

"Among those who have applied for a passage here, (and who are to sail, however, from Philadelphia next week) are two colored men, carpenters, from your city. There is a family of four persons from Vermont; and an old gentleman from the same State, who is without friend or relative in this country, but is most resolutely bent upon laying his bones in the soil of his own father land. The circumstances of the Colony have been all faithfully explained to him, and he perfectly understands all the hazard he incurs in the change of climate at his advanced age; but still he is determined to make the experiment. He feels that Africa, and especially Liberia, is the place for him; it is the true home and strong-hold of the black man. He says he is content to see and hear what is going on there, and then to die, no doubt with '*nunc dimittis*' on his lips."

We have been talking with this worthy veteran—"Old Simon," as he is commonly called—and have derived great satisfaction from the conference. We have never met with a person of his class more truly respectable in his appearance and manners. He is now sixty-eight years of age. His recent residence has been in the northernmost corner of Vermont, and the change of climate will therefore be considerable for him; but he means to move back from the coast as soon as possible, he says, and especially to be prudent and temperate in all things. One statement made above is incorrect; he has six children in this country, most of whom are settled in New England—two in Massachusetts. The expedition, we learn, will leave Philadelphia in the course of this week.

New York Spectator.

THE MISSION TO AFRICA.

The following letter from the Rev. J. B. PINNEY, who was once the associate, and is now the survivor of the lamented BARR, appears in the "Presbyterian" of the 24th ult. and will be read with interest.

February 17, 1833.

DEAR SIR,—We have arrived safely and happily at the home of the oppressed, where freedom spreading her broad mantle, invites the injured sons of Africa to liberty and happiness. The verdure is beyond expression delightful. Cape Mount seemed a paradise, when first seen last Sabbath morning, as one peak after another was discovered to us by the ascending mist; and Cape Mesurado distant only half-a-mile from our anchorage, though very rocky, presents nothing but the deepest luxuriance of vegetation: no rock appears except at the extreme point, where the retiring surf exposes enough to assure us that it is there. The white beach between the two capes, a distance of fifty miles, is a beautiful line separating the dark green waters from the still deeper vegetation; which resembles very much the appearance of the coast presented in entering Charleston Harbour. Numerous palms lift their lofty heads all-a-long the shore, high above the surrounding forests, resembling our pines trimmed almost to the top. Natives dressed in nature's garb, in light shelly canoes, as strange as themselves, are all around us. It is impossible to describe my sensations at beholding these human beings, representing, I suppose, fairly, more than as many millions, when they came on board our vessel just before we anchored in view of Monrovia, on Sunday evening, without even a "fig leaf" covering—seeming scarcely to have made a single step towards civilization, and probably still less towards godliness. They were *Kroomen*, said to be the noblest and most honest of all the seaboard tribes; their business is to row the boats in loading and unloading vessels. Captain Hatch has engaged fifteen, and I am now more accustomed to their appearance. When on board the ship, they wear a small piece of cloth around the loins. They are of a dark red colour, something like a ripe English cherry. The Governor received me with much politeness to-day, and invited me to dinner, which from my circumstances, I de-

clined acceding to. The town consists of houses thinly scattered here and there on lots as they have been drawn by colonists. From being but partly built, and there being no horses or carts to wear a road, the streets have little the appearance of a regular town, and from the luxuriance of vegetation, every spot not under cultivation or continual use, is covered with weeds and bushes. Yet it is much pleasanter than I had anticipated. The air is cool and pleasant, and I was quite surprised to observe *cloth coats* worn by all the most respectable inhabitants. Gov. M. informs me that when he travels he wears his *coat and overcoat*, and lies down any where in them. The buildings are well calculated for coolness, having no fire-places, and being quite open. Those of the colonists whom I saw, received me with great politeness, and were dressed very genteely. I think I shall like Africa, and from all accounts, the fever is not commonly more severe than many *intermittents* in America. It is a complete *fever and ague*, and in most cases I am informed is light.

I hear of very little sickness among those who came in the Lafayette and Hercules which arrived two weeks ago. The Jupiter has not come yet! So that my long delay has proved no delay, and I am here sooner than if I had embarked two months earlier. She left the Cape de Verds some time ago, and has not been heard of since; but is supposed to be on the coast to the *windward or north*. "Man deviseth his way, but God directeth his steps." In my haste I was inclined to regret having missed the opportunity, but the Lord I trust intended it for good. Our voyage was performed in about forty-two days, and was upon the whole very pleasant. The captain did all, and more than I could have anticipated, to make every thing pleasant. His conduct towards the emigrants was marked by forbearance and kindness. Religion was countenanced and encouraged. In the cabin, every meal, when my sea-sickness had subsided, was commenced by *giving thanks*. I have revived my astronomical learning, and become something of a practical navigator on the voyage, and have acted as general physician. At times the idea of being *entirely alone*, has depressed me for a few moments; but generally I have felt and at present do feel, happy and cheerful.

As yet no arrangement has been made about my inland journey, but I propose going ashore this morning to consult on the business. I have written this in haste.

Yours most affectionately,

JOHN B. PINNEY.

FRANCE.

Slavery and political rights of free blacks.—The question of abolishing negro slavery in the colonies of France, has been opened in the French journals, and touched in the Chambers. It is not improbable that the example of Great Britain, on the subject, whatever it may be, will be followed in France. The French ministry have passed a bill that places all free people of color upon a footing of political equality with the whites.—*N. Y. Observer.*

COLONIZATION.—We published a short time past, the circular of the Board of Commissioners appointed by an act of Assembly, and the act itself, which appropriates \$18,000 annually for five years, for the removal of free persons of color. From the table which accompanied this circular and act, each county in the State has a sum appropriated to the object contemplated by the General Assembly. We think this the time for the citizens of every county in the State to form auxiliary Colonization Societies in each county, to afford additional aid to enable the free people of color to avail themselves of the favourable opportunity to emigrate to Africa. This will be giving a new impulse to the colonization cause and the spirit of emigration in Virginia. Hitherto the efforts among the citizens of this State have been but partial. This is the time for them to move simultaneously throughout the State. Let all the friends of colonization now put forth all their strength and zeal, and we may hope to see the cause go on prosperously until we shall realize all we hope for in this philanthropic enterprise. In looking over the table, showing the proportion of the sum of \$18,000, applicable to the transportation of free persons of color from each county and corporation, we are convinced that nothing could be easier than for each county and corporation in the State, to raise a sum equal to that which is appropriated by the act of Assembly. If this should be done, then we should realize annually, for five years, \$36,000, for the removal to Africa of the free persons of color in our State. By the table of apportionment, Richmond city is entitled to \$966. This will remove *only* thirty-two persons of color, but if an equal sum should be raised by the citizens, there might be aid given for the removal of sixty-four annually, for five years to come. We do hope the county and corporation courts, and the citizens of Virginia generally, will turn their attention to this subject, and act with promptness, so that they fail not to reap the benefits of the appropriation made by the Assembly. This is the time also for the auxiliary Colonization Societies to awake up to this matter.

Christian Sentinel, Richmond, May 17.

A respectable resident in one of the largest towns of the western part of this Commonwealth, who has, it seems, been heretofore induced to oppose the Colonization Society, even to the extent of lecturing against it, writes to us, that having been led freshly to examine the subject, with great deliberation, he had concluded to abandon his opposition, and to repair the injustice already done, by a frank acknowledgment of his errors. This is manly. It is the magnanimity which sacrifices all personal considerations to the sacred dignity of truth. And this, as the world goes, is but too rare a virtue; too many minds are, as regards themselves, equally ashamed to detect a mistake, and afraid to correct one. Our friend details the process of reasoning which, as he says, 'caught' him. This is amusing, but the personal references connected with it, we do not feel at liberty to publish. We hope to hear from this gentleman hereafter.—*Colonizationist*.

Food for Reflection.—A distinguished South Carolinian, in a recent letter to a friend in this vicinity, says,

'I have been looking at this subject with deep interest for some time, and have been astonished at the result of my inquiries. *I know of no consistent friend of the Colonization Society in South Carolina, or indeed the other slave states, who is not also a Union man.*'—*Ibid*.

FOURTH OF JULY.—At a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, held at the General Agency Office, Joy's Building, April 11, 1833, it was unanimously

Resolved, That in view of the momentous crisis of our country's history, in relation to the existence of slavery, it be earnestly recommended to Christians of all denominations, to spend a portion of the morning of the 4th of July next, in special prayer to Almighty God, to preserve us from impending evils, to protect, enlarge and bless the Colony of Liberia, to pour on benighted Africa the light of the Gospel, to deliver our beloved country from the sin of slavery, to put a speedy end to all traffic in human beings, and to give energy to all means now in operation, or which may yet be devised, to accomplish those important objects.

¶ All religious or other papers, friendly to the African cause, are requested to publish the above resolution, and especially to call the attention of the Christian community to it near the appointed time, that there may be one simultaneous offering up of supplications to God in all the churches, on the anniversary of our National Independence.

J. N. DANFORTH,
Gen. Agent of the A. C. S.

Resolutions of the Annual Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church.—At a meeting of the New York Annual Conference of the Methodist E. Church, the following resolutions submitted by Rev. Dr. Bangs, were adopted unanimously:—

Resolved, That the American Colonization Society, by transporting to Africa, with their own consent, the free people of color, and providing a home for them on that continent, performed an act of benevolence to this class of our population, and of patriotism to our country.

Resolved, That this Conference consider the manifestations of Providence, in the establishment and success of the Colony at Monrovia, as indications of mercy to Africa; and particularly in the influence that settlement exerts in abolishing the slave-trade, and spreading the blessings of civilization and of christianity over the African continent.

Resolved, That we recommend to the Preachers, and the Congregations of this Conference, to take up collections on or about the ensuing 4th of July, in aid of the American Colonization Society; and that the Preachers of this Conference be requested to preach a sermon on the occasion.

May 13, 1833.

FROM LIBERIA:

We have conversed several hours, at different times with a young gentleman of this city, who some months since passed ten days at Monrovia. The station which he occupied on board one of our national vessels, gave him unusual opportunities of gathering information, and his impartiality—for, like multitudes of our intelligent northern citizens, he scarcely knows the name of the Colonization Society—is a sufficient guaranty of the truth of his statements.

Generally he confirms the most favorable accounts of the condition of the Colony, which have reached us, and we need not therefore go into detail.—The universal appearance of things was such as to give a strong impression of prosperity in business, united with domestic comfort, social cheerfulness, and a remarkable degree of public good order and peace. He did not see a Liberian intoxicated while he remained there; and whenever any thing of this kind occurred to the ship's crew on shore, the commander was immediately requested by the police of the town to remove the offender as soon as possible. Ardent spirits, so far as he could learn, were to be obtained at only one place in the settlement.

He dined and supped with several of the colonists, and their tables, he observes, would have done no discredit to the most liberal hosts in his own country.—Some of their gardens are cultivated in very good style; and, of course with the advantage of such a climate and soil as the Liberian, make a handsome show of tropical and other fruits. It was during our friend's stay that six of the Dey chiefs came in to negotiate a treaty of perpetual friendship and peace with the Colony—not long after the well-known expedition against King Kai Pa. He describes them as the most noble looking fellows he ever saw. Tall, straight, robust, well-proportioned, they walked leisurely through the streets of the settlement, with the air of men that neither knew master nor feared foe. It seems there is quite a number, our informant thinks from thirty to fifty, of the native boys and girls, living permanently in the families at Monrovia at this time, where they have been placed by their parents, for the purpose of being 'made Americans.' They are fine, healthy, and docile children, delighted with their opportunities of learning, and already evidently destined, it would seem, to become the almoners of the arts over all the beautiful but benighted land of their fathers.—*Colonizationist.*

THE COMMAND.

'GO YE UNTO ALL NATIONS.'

Go forth! go forth! heralds of God,
To many a far-off shore,
Where never have the footsteps trod
Of holy men before.

The silver isles! the silver isles!
That gem the Afric sea—
When shall they burn beneath the smiles
That come, O God! from thee!

For, rich may all their vallies glow
With bloom of brilliant hues;
And soft their musky breezes blow,
As Herman's twilight dews:

Ay, summer's never-flowerless wreath
May bind them as a bride,

And all their soil may teem beneath
With veins of lustrous pride;

And birds that cannot choose but sing,
Their fount-like music pour
In every grove; and every spring
Leap up through sanded ore.

But what are sun-bright dells and hills?
What are your vine-bound woods?
Your breezes sweet, your golden rills—
O lifeless solitudes!

Go forth! go forth!—your spear and shield
High faith, and solemn prayer
That mails the soul—and God shall yield
The crown, the victory, there.

Colonizationist.